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GENERAL PETROV HITS 'NUCLEAR STICK', U.S. ACTIONS

LD191035 Moscow TRUD in Russian 9 May 81 p 1

[Article by Army Gen V. Petrov, commander in chief of Ground Forces and USSR deputy defense minister: "For Peace on Earth"]

[Excerpts] In our motherland's heroic history there are many splendid dates which will live forever in the people's memory. One of them is the day of the nationwide victory festival, which is celebrated along with us by all progressive mankind and everyone who values peace on earth. The present, 36th anniversary of our victory in the Great Patriotic War has its own noteworthy feature. It is being celebrated in the atmosphere of tremendous political and labor enthusiasm aroused by the historic 26th CPSU Congress decisions.

Celebrating Victory Day, we remember the grim lessons of history. They demand unremitting revolutionary vigilance and constant watchfulness of us. Almost 40 years have elapsed since our land and its peaceful cities and villages were overwhelmed by the war--the most brutal war in all human history.

We value at its true worth the contribution which the peoples and armies of the states of the anti-Hitler coalition--the United States, Britian and France--made to the common victory over the aggressors. However, it is generally known that the Soviet Union and its army shouldered the brunt of the struggle against the aggressor. W. Churchill, who was British prime minister at the time, admitted that "precisely the Russian Army knocked the stuffing out of the German Army." Summing up the war, Gen G. Marshall, U.S. Army chief of staff, wrote in 1945: "Without the Soviet Army's successful actions the American troops could not have withstood the aggressor, and the war would have been transferred to the American Continent."

Our historic victory was natural. It was not the consequence of any chance circumstances, as the ideologues of imperialism try to prove, but had deep social roots. Our victory was a triumph for the Soviet social and state system, the socialist economy and the moral and political unity of Soviet society. By juggling facts and telling deliberate lies ideologues hostile to socialism and historians and propagandists of different stripes are making ever-increasing efforts to conceal from the young generations the truth about the Soviet people's military exploit. They are trying their utmost to belittle the role of the Soviet Union and its armed forces. But such attempts are in vain. It was precisely the USSR Armed Forces that wholly or partially liberated the territories of 13 European and Asian countries with a population of approximately 200 million. Precisely the Soviet-German front was the main front from the first to the last day of the war. Some 607 fascist divisions were routed there and three-fourths of all the aircraft and the greater part of the artillery and tanks were destroyed.

Reactionary forces did not draw proper conclusions from the lessons of history. Blinded by class hatred of socialism, they took the path of preparing for a new world war. Brandishing the "nuclear stick," imperialism began hurriedly creating a chain of numerous military blocs, bases and bridgeheads around the USSR and the young socialist states. In that situation the Communist Party, despite the difficulties of postwar reconstruction, took the necessary measures to further strengthen the country's defense capability and increase the combat might of its armed forces. Nuclear weapons and efficient delivery vehicles were created in a short time--which ended militarism's attempts to pursue a policy of nuclear blackmail and threats with regard to the USSR. In response to imperialism's military preparations and the creation of the aggressive NATO bloc the Soviet Union and the other European socialist countries concluded a political and defensive alliance in May 1955--the Warsaw Pact. It has now been reliably ensuring the socialist community's security for more than a quarter century.

It is generally known that the Soviet Union and the fraternal socialist countries have been consistently pursuing a policy of peace since the end of the war.

The USSR's foreign policy course elaborated at party congresses is aimed at ensuring the restructuring of the whole system of international relations on the principles of peaceful coexistence among states with different social systems. Thanks to the energetic, concerted actions of the socialist countries and also other peace-loving forces an improvement in the international situation was achieved in the seventies and the trend toward the relaxation of tension became apparent. At the end of the seventies, however, the international situation became noticeably more complex. The reactionary circles of imperialism, above all American imperialism, undertook fierce attacks on detente. They are escalating the arms race, fanning and provoking military conflicts and trying to thrust the world back into the trenches of the cold war. These circles, it was pointed out at the 26th CPSU Congress, "have really set themselves a goal of achieving the unachievable--erecting a barrier in the way of progressive changes in the world and regaining their role as controllers of the peoples' destinies."

Washington strategists now say openly that they are seeking to achieve military superiority over the Soviet Union. The combat training of the U.S. Armed Forces is aimed at conducting military operations against our country. Here U.S. military-political concepts emphasize the creation of a so-called potential for "assured destruction" and for the strategic forces to make a preemptive strike on targets on the territory of the USSR and other European socialist countries. A new step increasing the danger of nuclear missile conflict is the U.S. adoption of the so-called "new nuclear strategy" and the NATO countries' decision to deploy in Europe new American medium-range nuclear missile systems targeted on the USSR and the other socialist countries. In this way Washington is seeking to divert the possibility of a nuclear counterstrike from itself to its West Euroeapn NATO partners. However, the American strategists' hopes of sitting things out on the other side of the ocean, having started a war, are, of course, illusory.

It must also be said that the United States is now seeking to extend the NATO bloc's functions. The Washington strategists would plainly like to involve dozens of other states in their military preparations. Thus, the American administration has willfully proclaimed the Persian Gulf region, which is thousands of kilometers from the United States, a zone of its "vitally important interests," where it has concentrated a large grouping of military forces. The United States is trying to embrace this important economic region with the noose of its aggressive bases.

The Chinese leadership, following an anti-Soviet course, is stimulating imperialism's aggressiveness and is trying together with militarist forces to create a united front of struggle against the USSR. Gambling on war, Beijing is actively supporting the arms race and helping to strengthen aggressive military-political blocs. China's foreign policy course is undermining the cause of peace and represents a threat to the security of neighboring countries, above all the Soviet Union.

Under these conditions the responsibility of the Soviet people and, above all, of the personnel of our valiant armed forces for defending their homeland against any intrigues of an aggressor is increasing. Questions of the further development and combat improvement of the Soviet Army and Navy, of their technical equipment and of personnel training, instruction and education occupy a prominent place in the activities of the party Central Committee and its Politburo. Marshal of the Soviet Union L.I. Brezhnev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium and chairman of the USSR Defense Council, devotes constant attention to these questions. In recent years he has repeatedly visited firing grounds, missile, tank and motorized rifle units and ships, including those of the Siberian, Transbaykal and Far East Military Districts and the Northern and Pacific Fleets, has attended the review of the troops which participated in the "Dnepr" exercise, which lasted many days, the summing up of the "Dvina" troop maneuvers and a troop review in Minsk, capital of the Belorussian SSR, addressed graduates of military academies and veterans of the Great Patriotic War and visited the sites of past battles.

For the colossal military and technical potential of our army and navy, the personnel with their perfect mastery of weapons and combat hardware still constitute their chief force.

Precisely such people make up the basis of our armed forces, which represent a mighty combat monolith, an organism uni'ed in the sociopolitical respect by the ideas of Marxism-Leninism and by the noble aim of selfless service to their working people.

As Comrade L. I. Brezhnev pointed out at the 26th CPSU Congress, whenever it is demanded by the interests of the country's security or of the defense of peace and whenever it is necessary to help victims of aggression, the Soviet soldier appears before the world as a disinterested and brave patriot, as a internationalist ready to surmount any difficulties. The present generation of the motherland's defenders is the worthy successor to the combat traditions of that heroic generation which upheld its homeland's honor and independence on past battlefields and thoroughly routed the aggressor. The soldiers of the army covered with legendary glory vigilantly stand guard over October's gains, over peace and creation.

BRUSSELS MEETINGS SHOW NATO'S 'AGGRESSIVE NATURE'

LD191025 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 15 May 81 p 5

[Vladislav Drobkov "Commentator's Column": "Militarist Assemblages"]

[Text] Brussels--Sessions of the NATO "Eurogroup," Military Committee and Military Planning Committee have been held one after another in the Belgian capital. They represented, as it were, the final chords in the "NATO symphony" that has been playing for several straight weeks in Bonn, in Rome and now in Brussels. Since representatives of the new U.S. administration who advocate abandoning everything positive achieved in the sphere of detente in recent years were on the "conductor's podium" at the various NATO assemblages, the "music" merged into a single militarist march.

To summarize the results of the Brussels NATO conferences, it is becoming clear that, by brandishing the "Soviet threat" bugaboo, Washington again succeeded in pushing its bloc allies further down the slippery road of building up war preparations. The defense ministers and leading NATO generals adopted decisions projecting a further strengthening of the NATO war machine, and especially of its aggressive potential.

I refer first of all to the decision to continue preparations for the deployment in Europe of Pershing II medium-range missiles and cruise missiles which, so military specialists believe, are "first strike" weapons. The decisions taken by NATO to step up the conventional arms race, to secure an annual increase in military appropriations and to carry out an expensive modernization of the military infrastructure in Europe also represent a considerable threat to the cause of peace.

It was decided in Brussels to begin preparing plans for war preparations in 1983-88 and to set up a committee to study the bloc's "manpower" needs, which may be the first step toward increasing the numerical strength of the NATO armies. The ministers also determined the "main avenues" for long-term military planning in specific spheres, including the bloc's adoption of new weapons systems, the standardization of systems and cooperation in producing them. All this shows NATO's intention to plan the arms race for many years ahead.

The recognition displayed in Brussels of the U.S. "right" to military adventures outside the bloc's confines if a threat is created there to the notorious "Western vital interests" is equally dangerous to the fate of peace. Moreover, the NATO Military Planning Committee's final communique actually hints at the possibility of participation by the NATO allies in joint action outside the bloc framework.

The allusions made in Brussels to a NATO desire for "genuine detente" and "arms control" look particularly cynical against the background of all these aggressive preparations and plans. But the camouflage will be no help. The assemblages of the NATO military organs have demonstrated clearly enough the aggressive nature of the North Atlantic bloc.

BAVARIAN SPD CONGRESS DISCUSSES NATO DECISION

DW200847 Moscow in German to Germany 1515 GMT 19 May 81

[Vladimir Ostrogorskiy commentary]

[Text] The FRG press discusses developments at the Bavarian Social Democratic Party [SPD] Congress, where the advocates of the famous NATO counterarmament decision managed to prevent the coming about of a party congress statement against the arms race in the field of medium-range arms. The victory of the missile fans must be termed in every respect as a pyrrhic victory:

First, because the implementation of the missile decision creates a fatal danger for the Federal Republic, which would become the first target of a counterblow.

Second, because any further clinging to this U.S. policy would ruin the party, which is too good for its many members to play the role of a helper of the U.S. military.

Third, this victory over the party basis was achieved, if one may say so, not through better arguments , but through blackmail and wrong statements, which undermine the credibility of the victors of the top party echelon, particularly of those in Bonn.

The latter must be somewhat explained here, because some advocates of the NATO decision did not stop short of an obviously wrong presentation of the problem in the heat of the encounter.

First, they have stated that by deploying new medium-range missiles the Soviet Union was endangering the security of the West and altering the strategic balance. By saying this, the spokesmen have left out the fact that the new Soviet missiles--called SS-20 in the West--are not a new weapon but a modernized version of the old and scrapped weapon. They cannot reach U.S. territory, so that they do not change anything about the strategic balance. They are merely a Soviet answer to the constant process of NATO arms modernization, particularly the forward based American nuclear systems in and around Europe.

Second, the advocates of NATO's counterarmament with missiles stated that the American missiles would reestablish the lost balance, but they have left out the fact that the American missiles deployed in Europe would be able to reach Soviet territory and particularly important bases. Thus a new strategic situation would come about, demanding respective security and armament policy decision of the Soviet Union and the arms spiral would be turned higher.

Third, the advocates of NATO's counterarmament stated at the party congress that NATO had seen to it in Rome that the negotiation part of the NATO decision will be fulfilled; however, they left out the fact that one step backward was made in Rome also in this respect, because a vague announcement of the United States to begin preparatory negotiations with the Soviet Union at some time late this year, was linked with the prerequisite that the Soviet Union must show what the Americans consider good conduct.

These facts may have been disregarded in the heated debates at the Bavarian SPD Congress but they cannot be ignored in the long run. Therefore the victory of the missile fans is a pyrrhic victory.

MARSHAL KULIKOV ON PACT, AGGRESSIVE U.S. ACTIONS

AU191125 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 14 May 81 p 6

["APN interview with Marshal of the Soviet Union Viktor Kulikov, member of the CPSU Central Committee, first USSR deputy minister of national defense and commander in chief of the Joint Armed Forces of the Warsaw Pact states: 'Defense Alliance for Peace and for Protection Against Aggressors'"]

[Text] Today 26 years ago the Warsaw Pact was founded. On the eve of this anniversary Marshal of the Soviet Union Viktor Kulikov, commander in chief of the Warsaw Pact member states, granted the following interview to V. Morosov, APN's military-political correspondent:

Question: It was stressed in the Central Committee's Accountability Report at the 26th CPSU Congress that the military political-defense alliance of the socialist states has reliably served peace for many years now. Are you in a position to explain the tasks of this defense alliance under the complicated conditions of today's international situation?

Answer: V.I. Lenin emphasized that the peoples which have embarked upon the socialist road of development "definitely need a close military and economic alliance because otherwise the capitalists will overhwelm us one by one." These tenets of Lenin about the defense of the socialist fatherland, the international nature of the military protection of socialism constitute the ideological basis for the organization of the Warsaw Pact which was founded in May 1955 in response to NATO, the aggressive North Atlantic pact set up in 1949.

The Powerful Potential of the Socialist Military Coalition

The main task of our defense alliance is to protect the socialist gains of the working people from the plots of the aggressors, to safeguard the security of the socialist countries and create the necessary external conditions for successfully implementing the plans of socialist and communist building. The existence of the Pact has a beneficial influence on the entire international situation. It considerably restricts the opportunities of aggressive imperialist quarters to unleash another world war as well as their desire to alter the world map by military force.

Recently the peace-loving forces on earth have felt an ever-increasing danger in connection with the policy of the U.S. administration and of the aggressive NATO quarters, which undermines international detente, as well as the intentions of these quarters to unleash an even more dangerous round of the arms race.

As a counterbalance to the aggressive concepts and actions of the forces which pursue a return to the "cold war" the Soviet Union came forward with new initiatives aimed at preserving detente, at curbing the arms race and at consolidating peace on earth.

As was stated in the CPSU Central Committee's Accountability Report at the 26th party congress, "there is no more important task, internationally speaking, for our party, for our people, nay for all peoples on earth than to protect peace."

The military political-defense alliance of the socialist states possesses a powerful economic and military potential and great international prestige. It is a weapon for preventing wars and an instrument for stabilizing the international situation. It should be stressed at the same time that our military political-defense alliance possesses the means necessary to repel any aggression and to safeguard the peaceful work and security of the peoples of the socialist community.

The United States Wants To Change the Balance of Power

Question: U.S. Secretary of Defense C. Weinberger recently tried at the session of NATO's Nuclear Planning Group in Bonn to convince the defense ministers of the bloc states that there is no equilibrium between the forces of NATO and of the Warsaw Pact. What can you say in this respect?

Answer: It is true that Weinberger maintained in his report on the nuclear power balance, delivered in Bonn on 7 April this year, contrary to truth and the well-known facts, that by deploying the SS-20 missiles and the Backfire bombers the USSR had achieved superiority in medium-range nuclear weapons. On this basis he demanded that his NATO allies spend more and more for military purposes and as an example quoted the United States which is increasing its military expenditures by 15 percent this year.

There have been no indications in the past 10 years of the American military-industrial complex wishing to freeze its armaments at the present level. Thus, for example, the development of the Pershing II missiles was begun as early as in 1974 and that of the cruise missiles even in 1970. Their deployment in Europe was decided in 1977 on the basis of examinations which had been completed 2 years earlier, that is, long before the Western press "discovered" the existence of Soviet SS-20 missiles and the Backfire aircraft. As Weinberger stated in an interview for Britain's THE SUNDAY TIMES the United States now intends to step up the program for creating and deploying MX mobile intercontinental missiles and of other strategic offensive weapons. But the "complementary armament" is not a measure in response to actions of the USSR as NATO politicians stubbornly maintain but the realization of the long cherished goals of the United States to achieve military superiority.

When the SALT II agreement was concluded the Soviet Union and the United States, after careful analysis, noted the existence of an approximate equilibrium of the two sides in nuclear missile weapons. This was in 1979. But as early as in the fall of the same year the West began to talk about our military superiority. Is it possible to achieve superiority in strategic means, nay even substantial superiority in a few months?

NATO's Tricks With the "Forgotten" Nuclear Arms Carriers

U.S. "experts" are resorting to the most varied tricks to prove the completely unfounded assertion about the USSR's upsetting the balance of power. Thus, for example, they omit in their calculations the U.S. forward-based nuclear means (aircraft which carry nuclear weapons and are stationed at the air force bases of several West European countries, the nuclear-arms-carrying aircraft of U.S. aircraft carriers, U.S. submarines armed with nuclear missiles assigned to NATO and other means) and also ignore the nuclear weapons of other NATO states which could hit the territory of the USSR and its allies.

We, however, must include the aforementioned means in our calculations because they are aimed at the Soviet Union and the states of the socialist community. They constitute the basis of NATO's nuclear potential in Europe. If one wished to make an objective judgment when calculating the balance of power, individual types of weapons must not be studied in isolation from one another but the nuclear potential of the sides must be compared as a whole, and this potential now is approximately equal.

The Americans are trying to omit the forward-based means in the negotiations and thus to obtain a considerable superiority over the Soviet Union in medium-range nuclear weapons.

The Soviet position on this issue has been expressed several times at top level. We are ready to negotiate simultaneously about medium-range nuclear missile weapons and, in organic linkage with this, about U.S. advanced nuclear weapons, and in doing so to achieve not only a limitation but also a reduction in their number. The efforts of the West to only compare ground-based missiles only leads, first, to misleading public opinion and, second, to attempts to secure for itself military superiority and to conduct the negotiations from a position of strength.

In this connection one may recall Leonid Brezhnev's words from the CPSU Central Committee Accountability Report to the 26th party congress: "The military-strategic equilibrium that has developed between the USSR and the United States, between the Warsaw Pact and NATO, objectively serves the preservation of peace in our world. We have not aspired nor do we aspire to military superiority over the other side. This is not our policy. Such attempts are absolutely hopeless as are negotiations with us from a position of strength."

26th CPSU Congress Reaffirmed the Traditional Course of the Soviet Union

This traditional course of the Soviet Union, which was reaffirmed by the 26th party congress, clearly shows the continuity and consistency of the party's efforts to stabilize the situation in the world and to unmask the machinations of imperialist reaction and the hegemonistic forces and to repel them.

Question: The Western press raised a great hullabaloo about the "Soyuz 81" command staff exercise carried out by the Joint Armed Forces of the Warsaw Pact, linking this exercise with the events in Poland. Please explain the aims and results of this exercise of the socialist armies.

Answer: As is well known this exercise was carried out from 17 March to 7 April on the territory of the Polish People's Republic, the GDR, the USSR and the CSSR in keeping with a previously approved plan. It served to achieve the further cohesion of the top staffs of the fraternal armies, the perfecting of their collaboration, the consolidation of the combat alliance of the army members and of their education in the spirit of proletarian internationalism. It demonstrated the increased standard of the operational training of the generals, admirals and officers.

The exercise greatly contributed to the solving of tasks set to the Joint Armed Forces by the Political Consultative Committee and by the Committee of Defense Ministers of the Warsaw Pact member states. It was an exercise of the Joint Armed Forces, planned every year, the holding of which had been announced by the mass media in the Polish People's Republic, the GDR, USSR and the CSSR.

I would like to state that it was in no way connected with the internal events in Poland. The uproar stirred up by the Western press because of this exercise was intended solely and entirely to divert public opinion from the really large-scale and long-lasting maneuvers of the United States and of NATO which are regularly conducted close to the borders of the countries of the socialist community and which constitute a great danger to peace in Europe. From the planning point of view and because of the actions carried out at them, the maneuvers conducted by the United States and by NATO ("Autumn Forge," "Winter," and others) are so extensive in their scale that it is difficult to draw a distinction between them and actual preparations for a war.

The socialist countries have repeatedly pointed out the dangerousness of such maneuvers which, as reported by the Western press, pursue the objective of developing NATO's attack plans against the countries of the Warsaw Pact, and have proposed that the territorial extent of the maneuvers as well as the number of the troops involved in them be limited. The NATO countries still owe an answer to these proposals.

Question: Lately the NATO leadership has been making stubborn efforts to enlist new members in this aggressive bloc and to expand the scope of its activities. How do you judge such activities?

Answer: The leadership of NATO, particularly the United States, has already included many countries in military alliances of most different types and has striven to make them obediently tow the line of U.S. global military political strategy. Here are a few facts:

Under U.S. pressure Norway stated its readiness to have stationed on its territory heavy U.S. military technical combat equipment and other equipment. Luxembourg was compelled to provide territory for the construction of 2 Pentagon military bases. Greece was reincluded in the NATO military organization. Attempts are being made to arrive at a settlemen. with Cyprus that is favorable for NATO. A constant campaign is being waged to admit Spain to NATO.

NATO's Aggressive Bloc To Be Expanded

At the NATO Council session held in Rome early this May the question of expanding the "geographic scope of action" of the bloc to the African Continent and to the Near and Middle East was discussed. When looking at a map a special feature of this "expansion" of the area of activities becomes evident. It extends along the borders of the Soviet Union and of the other socialist countries. Or, in other words, NATO leaders are striving with all their might to reestablish the chain severed by the disintegration of SEATO and CENTO. As is well known these pacts were aimed against the socialist community.

All these measures are being taken at a time in which the Soviet Union, together with the other states of the Warsaw Pact, has for many years been waging a struggle to achieve a comprehensive improvement of the international situation and to solve problems of military detente and disarmament in Europe. The socialist countries have repeatedly proposed that the West should abandon the idea of expanding military political groupings. But the West has not accepted these proposals. Our proposals about nonexpansion of the blocs are valid even today.

The NATO countries are acting in the opposite direction, however. They are taking measures to expand this aggressive alliance, are urging the West European states to undertake military preparations. But the peoples of the world reject this course of aggression. "It is not the preparation for war, which condemns the people to senselessly waste their material and intellectual wealth, that leads to tomorrow, but the consolidation of peace, which is our leitmotiv," as Leonid Brezhnev stressed in the 26th CPSU Central Committee Accountability Report.

PRAVDA REVIEWS CONGO TREATY, HITS U.S. TACTICS

LD201203 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 17 May 81 p 4

[Pavel Demchenko untitled "International Review"]

[Text] For the Sake of Progress

Soviet-African relations were marked by a major event this week: The treaty on friendship and cooperation between the USSR and the People's Republic of the Congo was signed in the Kremlin. Our ties with one more developing state have thus been raised to a higher level. This fact has confirmed the words of the CPSU Central Committee report to the 26th party congress to the effect that "the CPSU will continue to steer consistently a course toward the development of the USSR's cooperation with the liberated countries and the consolidation of the alliance of world socialism and the national liberation movement."

Let us recall that in recent years similar treaties have been concluded with Angola, Mozambique, Ethiopia, Afghanistan, Syria and Democratic Yemen. Rich experience has already been accumulated of cooperation with these and other developing states covering various spheres--politics and the economy, interparty ties and defense, trade and culture. Naturally, ties are developing particularly successfully with countries of a socialist orientation, of which the Congo is one.

A distinguishing feature of this group of countries, whose number is constantly growing, is that the positions of the foreign monopolies, the local grande bourgeoisie and feudalists have been eliminated in them. The state ensures for itself the commanding heights in the economy, turns to planning the national economy, and encourages the cooperative movement in the countryside. With every passing year the role of the working masses in public life is enhanced there and the revolutionary parties are strengthened, reflecting the interests of broad strata of the population. These countries' foreign policy has a clearly expressed anti-imperialist nature.

All this opens up before the states which have embarked on a progressive path good prospects for eliminating the backwardness inherited from colonial times. Here it must be borne in mind that colonialism has been replaced by a no less dangerous enemy--neocolonialism, whose inalienable feature is the unbridled plunder of the natural resources and exploitation of the weakest and least developed countries and the desire to turn them into imperialism's military-political bridgeheads.

If we are speaking of Africa, then the scales of the neocolonialist exploitation of its peoples are truly colossal: Despite the fact that there are now 50 independent states there, this continent is the most backward on earth. Here are a few figures. About one-tenth of mankind now lives in Africa, but its share in world industrial production does not even reach one percent; it has the highest infant mortality rate--137 per 1,000 births; the annual per capita income in 18 countries is less than $100. All this on a continent with enormous stocks of oil and gas, gold and diamonds, copper and uranium, phosphates and manganese, and with a great agricultural potential.

The situation in various countries is not identical, of course. Some of them (Algeria, for instance) have attained impressive achievements in industrialization. However, if you are speaking of Africa as a whole, you must conclude that imperialist plunder is seriously delaying its development, affecting to one degree or another the majority of the continent's countries and peoples.

It is well known that the Soviet Union's policy is diametrically opposite to the aspirations of imperialism. Our country has always sided with the peoples struggling for independence and is now supporting the movement against the last colonial-racist hotbed in Namibia and the Republic of South Africa and advocates the elimination of unequal rights and discrimination in international trade.

"How would Soviet people like to see Africa?" Comrade L. Brezhnev said at the reception in the Congolese leaders honor, "As the Africans themselves would like to see it--peaceful, independent and prosperous. After all Africa is a sphere of vital interests for the Africans themselves and no one else.

"We favor the African peoples being able to determine independently the paths of their development and we favor their freedom of choice being respected. We are resolutely opposed to imperialism's attempts to turn Africa into one more region of military-political confrontation. Let Africa be a continent of peace, free from foreign military bases and nuclear weapons."

When you think about these words you see clearly that they are the logical continuation and sepcific embodiment of the ideas expressed by Comrade L.I. Brezhnev at the 26th CPSU Congress and in his speeches at the 16th CPCZ Congress in Prague and on 9 May at the ceremonies in Kiev. They are persuaded by concern for peace, the prevention of war, creative labor, and the future.

The speech delivered in the Ukrainian capital calls detente, which has become the fruit of the persistent efforts of the Soviet Union, the fraternal socialist countries and all sane forces of the present day, the most valuable achievements of the seventies. In the past decade the international climate has successfully been made less harsh. However, events are showing increasingly persistently that peace is not a blessing which comes of its own accord. Last week provided many instances of confirmation of the way in which aggressive forces are continuing to push mankind toward new spirals of the arms race and dangerous confrontations. The anti-Soviets are launching into gross acts of provocation like the one perpetrated recently at Washington airport against the Aeroflot passenger aircraft.

Ambitious and Dangerous Designs

A series of conferences of NATO leading organs has taken place recently. First there was a session of this organization's council at foreign minister level in Rome. Then the ministers of the countries belonging to the so-called NATO "Eurogroup" convened in Brussels; finally, the Military Planning Committee was in sesseion in Brussels on 12-13 May. After the first day of the committee's work the U.S. spokesmen hastened to state that they had succeeded in achieving confirmation of the undertakings previously made by the NATO members to increase real military expenditure by 3 percent per year right up to 1988.

It is worth recalling that the U.S. administration has given the Pentagon a record budget for this year and the forthcoming 5-year period, planning to increase the U.S. Armed Forces by 180,000-250,000 men. It is now making considerable efforts to ensure that the United States' allies follow its example.

"The haste with which the conferences of NATO's leading organs are being convened one after the other looks more than suspicious if you also consider the threatening tone of the U.S. leaders and the large number of large-scale maneuvers held in recent months," the French Communist Party's organ, the newspaper L'HUMANITE writes. "The U.S. ministers are resorting to pressure in an attempt to turn the decision to deploy new U.S. missiles in West Europe, to increase military budgets and to create the 'rapid deployment corps' into a fait accompli." The newspaper notes at the same time that Washington's campaign over the "Red peril" enjoys no confidence among the Europeans who are more attracted by the Soviet proposals for immediate talks aimed at limiting missile and nuclear weapons.

The U.S. journalists covering the NATO conferences have been forced to the same conclusion. Thus, an ABC television correspondent has reported that "although the U.S. Secretary C. Weinberger achieved an increase in the NATO countries' military budgets, he irritated many of his European colleagues by his tactic of bringing strong pressure to bear on them. After all, they are only too well aware that the opinion prevails in Europe that military expenditure must not be increased but reduced."

But Washington's emissaries are stopping at nothing, as the saying goes, and are applying arm-twisting tactics in an attempt to achieve military superiority over the Soviet Union. It looks as though this has become their main political credo. Here Washington wants to implicate not only West Europe but also the countries of South Asia and the Near and Far East in its plans. Thus, during Japanese Prime Minister Suzuki's recent visit across the ocean, an attempt was made to equate the U.S. "security treaty" and NATO. Washington is seeking from Tokyo, as it is from the NATO West European countries, agreement to a considerable increase in military expenditure and the creation of military material and munitions depots designed for the Rapid Deployment Force. The calculation is that the Pentagon will airlift only the personnel while equipment and heavy armaments will have been sent in advance to the regions where "crisis situations" might arise.

The New York TIMES recently published an article calling for Japan to be admitted to the ANZUS military alliance which, in addition to the United States, includes Australia and New Zealand. It is well known that this pact's naval forces are already taking part in patrolling the Indian Ocean, acting with a U.S. squadron there. In the future their use of a port in Pakistan is planned. The United States is giving that country abundant military aid in order to bind it to the United States and have on its territory a bridgehead for continuing its undeclared war against Afghanistan and for basing its naval and air forces.

As we can see, Washington's designs are of a global nature. They are as dangerous as they are ambitious. As in West Europe, in Asia and Africa opposition to these designs is mounting. The governments of many states are demanding that the U.S. fleet be withdrawn from the Persian Gulf region. During Indian Prime Minister Indira Gandhi's visit to the Gulf countries this week, it was reaffirmed that the peoples of the Indian Ocean basin can safeguard their own security and no one should impose their will on them.

Powder Keg in Lebanon

Events in Lebanon have recently reached a high pitch. "The conflict in the country," London's THE FINANCIAL TIMES wrote, "have brought the Near East to the brink of war. There certainly are grounds for such assertions. During recent days the impression has been that a major flareup may occur at any moment: Radio and telegraph have been producing report after report about the massing of Israeli forces, ready for attack.

As is known, Lebanese territory has effectively been a battlefield ever since the civil war which broke out there in April 1975. A year later a ceasefire was achieved between the two opposing sides after active mediation. Inter-Arab peacekeeping forces, comprising subunits from several Arab countries and numbering a total of 25,000-30,000 men, were sent into Lebanon. Soon, however, many subunits were withdrawn from Lebanon and only the Syrian forces, operating under the Arab League's flag, remained. They were stationed in the central and northern parts of the country, more than 50 km from the Israeli border, carrying out their mission in liaison with the Lebanese Government.

The situation deteriorated after Israeli forces, which had perpetrated provocations before, seized south Lebanon in March 1978 on the pretext that Palestinian partisans were operating from there. The UN Security Council condemned the aggression, demanding the withdrawal of the occupiers, and decided to set up a special international peacekeeping force to be deployed between the warring armies. But Tel Aviv violated the adopted resolution and handed over to the UN forces' control only part of the territory it had seized while helping the detachments of its ally, Haddad, who had deserted from the Lebanese Army, to establish a foothold on the remaining territory.

So Israel kept control of a piece of Lebanese land from whence attacks are made on UN posts, on Palestinian refugee camps and on representatives of the Lebanese authorities. Israeli ships regularly invade Lebanese territorial waters even as far as Beirut; the aggressor's aircraft make reconnaissance flights over Lebanon. However, Israel's ambitions go farther. Essentially, its objective is to get control of the whole of Lebanese territory, including the regions where the Syrian units are stationed. It was this fact that led to the sharp exacerbation of the situation.

After a detachment of rightwing Christian forces, operating in central Lebanon, had provoked a clash with Syrian units, the Israelis sent fighters into the conflict area and they shot down two Syrian helicopters. In reply the Syrian command provided antiaircraft missile cover for its units. Obviously a purely defensive measure, but it caused a frightful fuss in Tel Aviv. Prime Minister Begin stated that he had ordered the destruction of the Syrian missiles and only the weather, he said, had prevented the operation from being carried out.

The massing of Israeli forces on the border and the activity of Israeli aircraft over Lebanon demonstrate that these threats are concrete. Undoubtedly the explanation for Israel's aggressiveness lies primarily in the fact that its actions are part and parcel of Washington's broader plans in the Near East.

"The missiles currently stationed in Lebanon," the Syrian paper TISHRIN writes, "can perform no other function than a defensive one. The fuss over them is merely a pretext for fueling the anti-Syrian campaign which flared up with renewed force after we had once again made it clear to the United States during Secretary of State Haig's recent visit that we refuse to support its proposed capitulationist course."

Recently Syria has indeed become the main bulwark of the Arab forces opposing the Camp David agreements on the Near East and the Egyptian-Israeli separate "peace treaty." That is why it came under such strong pressure from the previous U.S. administration. Now the blackmail against Syria and the military threats have been resumed with renewed force. But, as events show, Syria is absolutely determined to defend its course and to seek the liberation of the lands taken away from it in 1967 and the establishment of a just peace in the Near East.

ZAMYATIN REVIEWS U.S. POLICIES, WORLD EVENTS

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["Talk on International Topics" by Leonid Mitrofanovich Zamyatin, chief of the CPSU Central Committee International Information Department--live or recorded]

[Text] Good evening, dear comrades. The day 9 May 1945 and 9 May 1981 are separated by 36 years. These 36 years have been a time during which an entire generation has lived in peace. We all remember that those who celebrated Victory Day on 9 May 1945--our victory over the most frantic of enemies, Hitler's fascist Germany--justifiably thought at the time that that world war would be the last.

We had every basis for this because the losses suffered by the people of our country and of other countries in winning this difficult victory were too enormous. The war, after all, lasted 4 and 1/2 years. Essentially, it was not simply a clash of two armies; it was a test--a test of the durability of the socialist system--forced upon us by the aggressive and frantic circles of imperialism. It was a test of our military strategy, our policy and our economy. Our people's spirit and patriotism were tested.

We understood and endured this war and not only overcame the enemy and threw him back from our territory but smashed him. That spring was not only a spring for the Soviet people, it was a spring for many European states liberated from the fascist yoke by the Soviet Army. Many states of Europe once again found their national independence because of our victory. Many states stepped onto a new road of development--the socialist road--and a new stage opened up for them in the history of the development of the peoples of these countries. The international system of socialism was formed.

Yet, if we speak today of victory, about our great holiday and about our celebrations observed every year, we must understand with complete clarity that the 36 years of peace were not simply years of peaceful development of the international situation.

We knew the cold war period; we knew exacerbations of tension; and we knew extremely intense exacerbations of tension in certain regions which turned into local wars. We experienced and are now experiencing psychological warfare against the Soviet Union and against the countries of the socialist world.

Speaking in Kiev on 9 May 1981, Leonid Ilich Brezhnev said: Events in the international arena ever more persistently remind us that peace is not after all a blessing that comes automatically. Unfortunately, this is not the way it is, Leonid Ilich Brezhnev said, peace is being threatened and threatened seriously.

Yes comrades, we are now again running into facts which indicate that among those who determine the policy of capitalist countries are many officials who would like to test our durability, who are now leading affairs toward a qualitatively new situation in the world--toward creating a situation of confrontation. In the first place, I have in mind the new Reagan administration, which recently came to power.

We have often said and are still saying that this administration has been in power for too short a time to be able to make a definitive judgment of its policies. We say that it has been in power only 100 days, so to speak, and that the foreign policy concept of this administration, of this government and state which plays a leading role in the capitalist world, has not been formulated yet.

Today, I would like to express a different opinion. I would like to say that on many questions the foreign policy concept of the new Reagan administration has already been formulated. Of course, separate facts can be cited. For example, definite interrelationship between Haig's foreign policy department and the White House have not yet been established, and the foreign policy apparatus of the United States of America has not been staffed yet. In connection with this, Western observers recall the fact that there are no new U.S. ambassadors in many of the largest countries, particularly in Moscow. All this is true. However, to say it is hard to crystallize a foreign policy concept of the new U.S. administration is something with which I do not think I can agree.

On the basis of speeches, although at times you could say they are quite saturated with anti-Soviet rhetoric, and on the basis of documents which have already been published, it can be definitely concluded that the new U.S. administration has chosen a sharp whipping up of the arms race as its course. The new administration considers that opposition to the Soviet Union--as its leaders, the leaders of the United States, say--in the economic, political and other fields is its main foreign policy concept. Besides, they maintain that this opposition must be on a global scale.

Reagan recently said: I do not wish to live in a world where the Soviet Union is first. What does this mean? If these words of Reagan's are translated into another language--into the language of politics from everyday language--this means that the United States has chosen military supremacy over the Soviet Union as its political concept; that it is rejecting the policy of peaceful coexistence, the policy of detente; and that it is making a stake on sharply raising the military presence of the United States in various parts of the world, including along the perimeter of Soviet borders. It is also attempting, by increasing its military potential, to put pressure on the Soviet Union.

The literally maniacal urge toward the arms race can be considered another provision of U.S. policy. And on this basis, there is the urge for a certain kind of elevation, as they say, of the international role and activity of the United States in the world.

In other words, the U.S. administration now considers that by massively intensifying the arms race and deploying American Armed Forces around the world it can revert to the big stick policy and foist its policies on other states of the world.

You know, there is a certain law of physics, that an action usually evokes a counteracttion equal in size and opposite in direction. Now this law can be applied to politics as well. So it can be said that the flagrant pressure to which the U.S. Government is already resorting to when it holds countries--like those on the Persian Gulf for example or the states on the Indian Ocean--under the barrels of its guns, this evokes a completely natural counteraction. The United States can swing its military club but it cannot change the correlation of forces formed in the world in recent years.

When we talk about the new Reagan administration's foreign policy line; including its policies on European issues, on questions of armament and on relations with the Soviet Union; then we now have more than just separate statements by administration representatives, we have a completely finished document in the form of the recently held NATO session in Rome. I have in mind the communique of the NATO session.

This session was in a way a continuation of the meeting held at the end of April which discussed questions of NATO's nuclear planning. Members of the NATO Foreign Ministers Council gathered in Rome on 4 and 5 May. The session was held at a hotel which is now being simply called a military bunker in the middle of Rome insofar as it was surrounded by an enormous number of police detachments.

At this session the foreign affairs ministers had to essentially discuss political, or more correctly military-political aspects of the policy of the United States and the entire NATO bloc after accommodating it with the new trends of development of the concept proposed by the United States. The dominating role at the session, as all its participants acknowleged, was played by General Haig, the U.S. secretary of state and former commander in chief of NATO.

One of the main questions at this session was the question of forcing the hand [dozhat], so to speak, of the U.S. allies over the proposals formulated back in December 1979 relating to further nuclear arming of Europe--that is Western Europe. In other words it was actually the question of deploying 600 American missiles on the Continent of Western Europe.

The results of this session are now being presented as an enormous U.S. success and there are even figures who say that this session made a considerable contribution to normalizing the international situation. But to maintain this not only contradicts common-sense, it is really cynical as well, because this session adopted absolutely no decisions which even at first glance could be relegated to proposals on normalizing the situation in Europe. The only thing at the center of attention of the session, so to speak, was the agreement of the United States that in response to the consent of the Western NATO ally powers to deploy missiles on the territory of Western Europe the United States would promise to initiate talks with the Soviet Union at the end of this year on a reduction of medium-range missiles.

But even this triumphant report, so to speak, about which so much is now being said--and even the President of the United States spoke about it as a substantial concession to the NATO allies--if in fact we were to take a real look at it and approach it from a political point of view, it would become perfectly obvious that making a statement agreeing to talks with the Soviet Union--incidentally, talks which were begun previously at the end of last year and which were broken off by none other than the United States, these continuing talks I would say, or new talks as they are being called, will still be preliminary in nature, as Haig pointed out. During these talks, as is evident from the communique, the question will be discussed--and this is written down as the aim of the Western powers--about limiting the military might of the Soviet Union in the sphere of nuclear missiles arms in its European part.

But this is an absolutely different line which is now being pushed by the Western powers. The talks should be on a reduction of nuclear missile arms, not only by the Soviet Union, but should include discussion of all questions which are part of the complex of medium-range missiles. Discussion of American means of forward basing in Europe is also part of this complex.

When I read the communique adopted by the NATO countries and some reports which filtered into the press about the speeches made by Haig and the representative of the Federal Republic of Germany about how the Soviet Union supposedly already possesses superiority over the NATO bloc in the sphere of medium-range missiles--and this thesis is being extensively exaggerated in order to break down the resistance of those West European states which do not want to deploy these weapons--I turned to our military specialists especially to consult them on the real state of affairs. I was authoritatively told that presently, if we were to compare the medium-range means and the delivery means in Europe in the NATO bloc and in the Soviet Union, we would find that they are approximately equal.

Even if we were to take the American arithmetic--and the Americans followed their own calculations, so to speak to convince their allies, they took missile for missile, and said that whereas the Soviet Union has several hundred missiles--different figures were mentioned, I do not want to repeat them here because they do not correspond with reality--the West has only 18 medium-range missiles, and even these belong to France which is not part of the NATO military structure.

This is not correct, comrades. According to the data of our specialists a count should be taken of all means which can deliver nuclear weapons over a certain distance reaching the territory of other states. Now the aggregate quantity of means for delivering medium-range nuclear weapons in Europe that the United States and its allies have amounts to 987 units, which approximately corresponds with the quantity available to the Soviet Union. [I vot summarnoye kolichestvo sredstv dostavki yadernogo oruzhiya sredney dalnosti v Yevrope u Soyedinennykh Shtatov i u ikh soyuznikov sostavlyayet 987 yedinits, chto primerno sootvetstvuyet i kolichestvu kotorym raspolagayet Sovetskiy Soyuz]

They say that no, the Soviet Union has more because it has, so to speak, aircraft. If we add these to the missiles then this figure would be greater. No, comrades. And I want to repeat it again. If we take the aggregate of everything available to the Soviet Union in the sphere of medium-range weapon delivery means, then an approximate parity exists.

If the United States now insists--and they are in fact not only insisting but are pursuing this policy notwithstanding any protests coming from some allies of the United States--they want to deploy another 600 Pershing II missiles and cruise missiles, then the U.S. superiority over the Soviet Union would be approximately one and a half times. And this is precisely the aim of the United States, this is precisely what was discussed at the NATO session. This is why any pharisaical statements by the United States that it is striving for disarmament in Europe and for limiting the arms race, do not correspond with reality.

The principles favoring a balanced and equal security have been cast aside and a course toward military superiority has been taken.

In order to show that this was not, so to speak, simply a statement of Haig's but a definite line of the United States I would like to refer to a certain document. This is an American document entitled: National Security of the United States of America in the 1980's. It also carries a subtitle: From Weakness to Strength.

Now this document, which was compiled by the Center for Scientific Research of the United States of America, and research like this is carried out from time to time by groups of specially selected people including military specialists, diplomats, representatives of big business, military business, and so forth, and this research which is not secret, is then presented by them for review by the Pentagon as their own personal recommendations.

Of course there is no need to refer to this document, but when I looked it over I saw that among the people who compiled this document were many individuals who are now in fact counselors at the Pentagon, the U.S. State Department and the present Reagan administration, and what was written by them in May 1980 is today being implemented by the Reagan administration.

Now here is one of these studies, permit me to cite it: It was compiled by (Thompson) who is now a professor at the U.S. Center for Research. Now (Thompson) does not like the distinction made between the trend of military policy of the United States in the sixties and today. He says that in the sixties strategy placed a greater emphasis on the soldier. Military strength was a slogan of belief in new frontiers and a foundation on which the diverse nature of peace and the policy of the United States was to be based this would be the main means for insuring American policy.

At the time the United States [illegible]essed strategic superiority and was not experiencing any direct threat. Under present c[illegible]tions, he writes, the shift from soldier to diplomat--this is what he calls the policy of change from military concepts to a policy of detente--has taken a direction contrasting that of the sixties to an extent never before seen in the history of the United States. And what conclusions does (Thompson) make on the basis of this? The entire essence of the new strategy, of the concept of peace should boil down to demands for insuring the strategic nuclear superiority of the United States of America, an even sharper increase in the Pentagon's budget and even more active preparations of U.S. interventionist forces to crush national liberation and other movements in the developing countries.

Now does this not reflect, so to speak, the concept being implemented by the United States at present? In my opinion it fully coincides with what is presently being done by the Reagan administration.

Now I would like to cite a source which is more responsible, so to speak. I have in mind Mr Allen, presidential assistant on national security questions, who literally stated the following after the NATO session in Rome: We will hold talks with the Soviet Union and acquire additional arms [dovooruzheniye] at the same time.

Well, comrades, it could not be said more scathingly. And the entire pharisaical--to repeat that word--line which was adhered to by Haig at the NATO Council session in Rome when he gave his consent to talks with the Soviet Union could not be represented better, so to speak.

The new American Government, according to Allen, intends to conduct talks with Moscow only from a position of strength. The Soviet Union will be prepared to hold serious talks about its own weapons only when it will be absolutely clear that the West is arming itself. Herein, so to speak, lies the concept which was put into the communique and it was--and this is not concealed by the Western allies--formulated by American diplomacy. And it was accepted, unfortunately, almost unconditionally by the Western NATO allies of the United States at the past session and was then discussed in detail at the session of the Military Planning Committee which began its work on 13 May and continued this work for 3 days.

I have received an interesting letter from our televiewer in Perm, Comrade Viktor Petrovich Korney, who asks: How can we explain why the leaders of the FRG so persistently strive for the deployment of American weapons mainly on their territory and to a lesser degree on the territory of other West European countries? Is it not thus striving to lay its hands on nuclear weapons?

Comrades, this question is presently being asked by many, and not only in the Soviet Union. It is also being asked in many countries located in Western Europe. I would like to cite a statement by Helmut Schmidt, FRG chancellor, made earlier when he was an expert in the Social Democratic Party of Germany on questions of security.

And so, during debates in the Bundestag--this was several years ago--Schmidt declared that with the aid of atomic weapons Europe cannot be defended, it can only be destroyed. And now Helmut Schmidt comes out in favor of deploying on West Germany territory a considerable part of the 600 missiles that the United States proposes to introduce into Western Europe.

Of course, these weapons will be under the control of the United States of America, like all nuclear weapons in Europe are under the control of the United States of America. But, three-fourths of the teams that will serve the Pershing II missiles will be from the West German Bundeswehr. So, at certain stages in the use of these weapons and in training to use these weapons three-fourths of the teams being trained will be West German. By deploying on its territory a considerable quantity, or more accurately, by consenting to the deployment of a considerable quantity of such weapons on its territory, West Germany reckons that it will gain increased influence in NATO nuclear committees and that its voice will be much stronger in determining nuclear policy. In other words, in the letter, in the question put by our reader and listener, there is a certain amount of alarm that the policy of West Germany is determined to some degree by a desire to play a bigger role in determining nuclear strategy in Western Europe. How things develop will be seen in the future.

I would like to dwell on another question that is repeated in many of your letters, comrades. You ask that we describe to you what the economic program of the United States of America represents at the present stage and what is being done in this sphere today in the United States by the new administration.

Three months after proclaiming his economic program Reagan, who had barely recovered from his wounds, declared in congress: Take a look at me, he said, I am healthy, but this cannot be said about our economy. It is seriously ill. These are Reagan's words. And this is in fact so.

The industrial potentials of Western Europe and Japan are now not only comparable to the American but in many areas surpass it. The U.S. share of world exports in the past decade declined by nearly 20 percent, inflation has reached 12.7 percent annually while unemployment has reached 8 million people. The United States now has the largest army of unemployed, and this was admitted by President Reagan himself in his recent television address to the nation. He declared that if all the unemployed were put in a single line they would stretch clear across the country--from the coast of Maine in the east of the United States to the coast of California in the west.

It seems to me that Reagan managed to convince the average American that his own personal poor economic situation was explainable to a considerable measure, as he said, by the state's excessive generosity in various kinds of welfare programs. And under this pretext Reagan has essentially reduced all economic and social programs by 25 percent--and if we take the sum total of the various aspects of this program, well, he reduced it at nearly 500 points--but considerably increased the military budget. Now, when he says that people are getting poorer because there are many welfare programs, he has in mind primarily the fact that the average American must pay for everything and American propaganda drums the conviction into the conscience of Americans that the worsening of his situation is related to the parasitic segments of society. By this he means the unemployed, by this he means the colored, ethnic and other groups of the population that live at the expense of various kinds of social programs.

Now it is on this wave of nationalism--and, if you like, a certain stupefication of people--that the present administration has managed with its promises to reduce taxes on capital--that is on people who possess capital--and sharply decrease social economic programs that cover broad levels of the population.

What will come from this in the long run, taking into consideration the enormous military expenditures, is far from clear, but at the present time it must be said directly that Reagan's economic program, which he outlined in a fairly demagogic way, is finding support in the country.

Comrades, in the latest mail, which we sorted out just before our program, there were very many letters in which you ask us to dwell on the elections in France and to again describe Francois Mitterrand.

I would like to say that for the first time in the past 25 years the coalition of bourgeois leading parties was forced to cede its position to a representative of the Socialist Party of France--to the candidate of the bloc of left forces, which included the socialists, left democrats and the communists. Mitterrand gained the upper hand--and here you can see the very moment when his victory was announced--by a considerable majority of votes.

In his address after the elections Mitterrand said that this victory was a victory for the forces of youth, labor and the forces of creation and renewal, which united in a broad national surge for employment, peace and freedom. These questions, he said, will remain topics of my 7-year tenure in the presidential office.

It should be said that Mitterrand's term in this office will not be simple, primarily because Mitterrand needs a majority in the French National Assembly. His victory to the presidency did not automatically bring a majority to the National Assembly of France. Therefore, in order to win the support of the National Assembly Mitterrand most likely will be forced to disband it and to set new elections in France, which are projected for either the end of June or the month of July.

Depending on these elections and depending on the composition of the future National Assembly, the composition of the government will be determined. In other words, there is a probability that the government may be a coalition.

How can Francois Mitterrand's victory over Giscard d'Estaing be explained? The French press, I think,has written fairly about this, that Mitterrand's victory is an expression of the serious dissatisfaction which has accumulated in the country in view of the protracted economic crisis. The fact is that France, like many capitalist countries, is suffering from chronic unemployment, which by the time of the election campaign numbered 1.7 million people.

All these economic and social questions, and I will not speak of them in detail at this time, were at the very center of the election struggle between the various candidates.

As far as foreign policy is concerned, well, it was in the background, and when Francois Mitterrand came to power he said in his first statement that he hopes France's foreign policy will not undergo any material changes.

Dear comrades, permit me to dwell on yet another very important issue, an ongoing event. This is the situation in Lebanon which is becoming seriously aggravated with every passing day and which can lead to a large armed conflict in this region.

If we take a brief look at history, Lebanon is one of the gems of international tourism which for nearly 10 years now has become an arena of fierce battles that are being thrust on this state by aggressive Israeli militarists, who are essentially waging a struggle against the Arab people of Palestine living on Lebanese territory.

In the past this struggle led to a civil war, that is in 1975-76, which resulted in a loss of more than 30,000 human lives. To this day Lebanon remains under a situation of military siege owing to the aggressive actions being undertaken literally every day by Israel against this peace-loving country.

What is happening right now? I will try to explain all of this on a map of Lebanon, which speaks for itself. If we look at the southern part of Lebanon--which was occupied by Israeli troops, and later Israel established the puppet Haddad regime here--this part gravitates toward Israel. I would like to add to this that the Golan Heights pass through this region. This is Syrian territory and was also occupied by Israeli troops since the time of the Israeli-Arab war.

Now the part that is hatched here [Zamyatin indicates an area south of Tripoli] with these lines, this is where the rightwing Christian part of the state is located, and it definitely gravitates toward cooperation with the part occupied by Haddad. The aim currently set by Israel is to use the most reactionary circles of the rightwing Christian groups in order to attempt to join this part of the territory with the part Israel occupied previously.

This zone that is hatched here in the east [Zamyatin indicating eastern part of Lebanon bordering on Syria]--it is controlled by inter-Arab forces on the basis of a decision of the Arab League adopted in 1976, and it is occupied by Syrian troops who were brought in in order to avert a continuation of the civil war between various groups inhabiting Lebanese territory.

Now this yellow area [Zamyatin indicating the southwestern part of Lebanon] is where the Arab population of Palestine mainly lives, just like in this area [Zamyatin indicating the eastern part of Lebanon bodering on Syria] and it is under the control of the Palestine Resistance Movement forces and the forces of the National Front, the Patriotic Front of Lebanon.

So you can see that the state, so to speak, currently does not represent a unified whole. Israel, with the aid of rightwing Christian forces, has essentially foisted battles on the area of the town of Zahlah. This is where the main, so to speak, sharpest battles are occurring. Why? Because this is the city which lies on the main route linking Beirut with Damascus, and by seizing this point the rightwing Christian forces, which include Israeli advisers, would essentially like to cut this communications line, occupy the heights located here and control these regions adjacent to this city, which are occupied by the patriotic forces of Lebanon.

Israel has begun using aircraft against this city and against the entire adjacent region as well. Recently two Syrian Army helicopters, which were defending the approaches to this region, were shot down at this point, so to speak, and the Syrian command moved antiaircraft defense missiles to this area.

Israel claims to have a right to bomb the territory of the sovereign Lebanese state and essentially to commit aggressive acts not only from land and sea, but from the air as well. The situation has now become so aggravated that Israel is demanding the immediate withdrawal of Syrian missiles from this region. Yes, Israel is demanding this as a condition and has declared that if the Syrian missiles are not moved from this area, from this Al-Biqa' Valley, then Israel reserves the right to begin military activities against the Syrian forces and against the patriotic forces in this region.

As we can see, the situation is very complicated, and now demands patient talk; it demands peaceful ways for solving this issue. But here we cannot avoid drawing attention to the fact that the Israeli Government headed by Begin occupies of completely implacable position in this--a position of setting ultimatums. And despite the fact that the United States sent its envoy--a certain Habib--to this area--its mediation mission has in fact supported the demands of Israel and not the just demands of the Lebanese people and the demands of the inter-Arab forces, the main component of which is formed of Syrian troops, as I have already said.

This region, comrades, must be watched, because exacerbation of the situation here is not coincidental. Remember the Haig mission and the U.S. administration's statement--they all boiled down to the fact that the American administration does not recognize the Arab people of Palestine and that it is leading matters essentially toward the destruction of the Arab people of Palestine. They reject any decisions of the United Nations on this score as it seems now that all these provocations, which are being instigated by the rightwing Christian forces with the support of Israel, are linked with offensive operations--operations against the Arab people of Palestine--in order to overcome them and to begin their gradual destruction--that is, to implement a policy of genocide. Herein, and only in this context, should we view those aggressive actions being carried out by the Israeli militarists in this region.

This is a dangerous region, a region which demands great attention and patient settlement of arising controversies by peaceful means.

As you can see comrades, the situation in many regions of the world remains complicated and extremely tense. The Soviet Union pursues its line consistently--its foreign policy line--and has made many proposals meaningful in their scope, their direction and their content, which concern various parts of the world. This includes limiting arms in Europe, the Persian Gulf and Indian Ocean issues, proposals relating to Near East and Middle East countries, and proposals concerning what we conditionally call the code of behavior in relation to states of the developing world. Contrast this to the frantic American proposals and pressure on these states.

All these proposals find an enormous response among the world's public. Not only do statements by major state figures attest to this but so do letters we are receiving here at central television from abroad.

I would like to cite an extremely interesting--in my opinion--letter that we received from the United States of America from (Tom Daley). Allow me to read it to you: President Leonid Brezhnev's speech at the 26th congress was wonderful. He deserves a Nobel Prize for his tireless activities for the benefit of the whole world, for his struggle against the arms race and for banning nuclear arms. We must heed commonsense. Where are we heading? We resemble lemmings that rush to the edge of a precipice to die. Atomic war is somethir inconceivable. The Soviet Union has appealed for the broadest talks in which all cou ries must participate in order to work out measures to limit the spread of atomic weapo . Reagan and his administration, (Tom Daley) writes, should accept Brezhnev's propo al on holding talks, as soon as possible.

Dear comrades, mass antiwar demonstrations are now being held in many countries of the world. They are mainly focused on two topics--to oppose the deployment of nuclear weapons in Europe and to stop the arms race--to bridle the arms race and initiate genuine talks that would turn into a dialogue that would present an opportunity to find solutions to the most difficult problems, so that reason can predominate in the achievement of these solutions and not some kind of conjectured considerations which are often inserted in the United States and in other Western countries, which undertaking one or another action in this or that part of the world. [sentence as heard]

In England, for example, many counties, in protest against the policy of Great Britain, which has consented to the deployment of nuclear arms, have declared themselves nuclear-weapon-free zones. And this is a very typical movement for contemporary England. We can see the same thing in many other states of Europe--this movement is growing. And this is a factor that the aggressive imperialist circles must not and cannot avoid to take into consideration.

Dear comrades, I would like to conclude our talk today with the words of Leonid Ilich Brezhnev, uttered by him in Kiev on 9 May. We, he said, have managed by our authority and by our policy to influence the international climate, to make it less severe. For a whole decade international relations have developed along the road of detente.

Under present conditions circumspection and a considered approach [vzveshennost] are demanded as never before, and at the same time honest and bold efforts in the name of harmony and in the name of international confidence.

Allow me to conclude our talk today with this and to bid you farewell. Goodbye.

BRATISLAVA PRAVDA: ZAMYATIN DISCUSSES MIDEAST

AU191853 Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 15 May 81 p 6

[Article by Leonid Zamyatin, chief of the International Information Department of the CPSU Central Committee: "Soviet View of the Settlement in the Middle East; Reality and Prospects"--capitalized passages published in boldface]

[Text] THE QUESTION OF WAYS TO A SETTLEMENT OF THE MIDDLE EAST PROBLEM IS MORE THAN UNDERSTANDABLE. THERE IS NO PEACE THERE SO FAR, AND THERE CANNOT EVEN BE ANY IN CONDITIONS OF CONTINUING U.S. PENETRATION OF THAT REGION.

In September 1978, when the Camp David accord was being drawn up and signed, the Soviet Union noted that it would lead to a one-sided approach to the settlement in the Middle East in accordance with the military-political interests of the United States and Israel, and that it would not lead to peace but to the aggravation of the situation. This prophecy has been fulfilled. The Egyptian-Israeli "peace treaty" excluded the issue of recognizing the right of the Arab people of Palestine to independence, including the right to their own state, and the issue of the withdrawal from all Arab territories occupied by Israel. In other words, it has not resolved the main problems of the Middle East crisis, and thus its roots remain intact.

The Nobel Prize awards committee quickly bestowed "peace prizes" on As-Sadat and Begin, and it was that prize that has actually facilitated the deployment of American Armed Forces in the Middle East, the transformation of Egypt--next to Israel--into a strong hold of gendarme-like functions and the Egyptian-Israeli rapprochement on an anti-Arab basis.

The "policy of step-by-step" did not envisage a comprehensive settlement of the conflict, but on the contrary kept on undermining it, rejecting the essentially legitimate rights of all Arab people and, in particular, of the Arab people of Palestine. After the violation of the UN decision on establishing an Israeli and an Arab state in Palestine, and after the Israeli aggressions that followed, they remain without a country, without a home. Neither Washington, Tel Aviv nor As-Sadat can decide their fate.

Only the Palestinians themselves can decide their fate, with the help of all the world's peace-loving forces. AND THOSE WHO DO NOT WANT TO TAKE INTO CONSIDERATION THE LEGITIMATE RIGHTS OF THE PEOPLE OF PALESTINE ARE FORGETTING THAT IT IS IMPOSSIBLE TO LIQUIDATE A PEOPLE, IT IS IMPOSSIBLE TO LIQUIDATE THE PLO--THE SOLE LEGITIMATE REPRESENTATIVE OF THE ARAB PEOPLE OF PALESTINE.

And what are the prospects for the development of the situation in the Middle East?

The recent journey of U.S. Secretary of State Haig to Egypt, Israel, Jordan and Saudi Arabia proves that the United States is trying to galvanize the "spirit of Camp David," which rejects the Arab and Islamic world and the world public, and is trying to form out of the Arab countries a military-political bloc aimed not against the aggressive plans of Israel, but against the uncomfortable national forces and the Soviet Union. According to Haig, the United States would like to achieve a "strategic agreement" in the Middle East. Under such an "agreement" one has to understand an agreement which it has already begun to prepare--on the deployment of American troops in the Sinai after the planned withdrawal of Israeli troops from that region in April 1982. THE AMERICANS WOULD LIKE TO MASK THIS PLAN OF THEIRS WITH THE UN FLAG OR A SHIELD OF THE SO-CALLED "MULTI-NATIONAL FORCES," WHICH IN FACT WOULD BE SUBORDINATED TO THE UNITED STATES.

Such an agreement can lead to only one thing: The military air bases built there by Israel and other bases there will pass into the hands of the United States, which will equip them with weapons. In other words, the United States will transform the Sinai into a stronghold for the deployment of American Rapid Deployment Force. These will fulfill the function of a gendarme during an assault on any Arab country which the United States declares to be a "region of its vital interests." However, the concrete manifestation of this could be the occupation of the oilfields of any Arab country that for any reason wanted to reduce its oil production or temporarily stop it completely.

Events show that without an extensive, peaceful and just settlement, one can hardly expect a peaceful development of the situation in the Middle East.

Is there a way out?

The Soviet proposals submitted by L.I. Brezhnev answer that question. THE MOST IMPORTANT THING IS TO SOLVE CONTENTIOUS ISSUES THROUGH NEGOTIATIONS, IN AN OPEN, HONEST DIALOGUE, TAKING INTO CONSIDERATION THE INTERESTS OF ALL COUNTRIES IN THE REGION. And the process of the settlement of the Middle East problem could make progress as a consequence of convoking an international conference or some other form, to which all interested countries agree, especially the Arab countries. After all, no one can decide their fate for them. As regards the Soviet Union, it has displayed good will and is willing to contribute to a collective search for a comprehensive settlement on a just and realistic foundation.

Also, the Soviet proposals concerning demilitarization of the Persian Gulf are of great importance for normalizing the situation.

Let us look at them point by point.

POINT ONE--NOT TO ESTABLISH FOREIGN MILITARY BASES IN THE PERSIAN GULF REGION AND NEARBY ISLANDS; Not to deploy nuclear weapons or any other mass destruction weapons there. Thus what is involved is that the Persian Gulf region will rid itself of the threat of war. With such a policy, above all the Arab countries themselves, which need a secure and calm situation for economic and cultural development in the interest of their people, will gain.

POINT TWO--NOT TO USE FORCE AGAINST THE COUNTRIES IN THE PERSIAN GULF REGION OR THREATEN TO USE FORCE, NOT TO INTERFERE IN THEIR INTERNAL AFFAIRS. There is more than enough evidence attesting to the interference of imperialism in the affairs of these countries. There were attempts to provoke a conflict between the two Yemens and between Saudi Arabia and the PDRY. The Soviet Union resolutely opposes the policy "from the position of strength" which relies, as facts reveal, on provoking nationalist and religious hostility and on resolving contentious issues with weapons.

POINT THREE--TO RESPECT THE STATUS OF NONALIGNMENT, which the Persian Gulf states have chosen. That means not establishing military bases there, and not dragging the countries of the region into military groups whose members are nuclear powers. What is involved is not only their being dragged into military blocs, but also their being harnessed to the military cart of other powers. We know that the Gulf states have rejected Oman's proposal to establish a Persian Gulf security bloc, a member of which was to be the United States. The realization of the Soviet proposal would, without doubt, help the Arab states with their unhampered implementation of nonalignment policy.

POINT FOUR--TO RESPECT THE SOVEREIGN RIGHT OF THE STATES IN THIS REGION TO THEIR NATURAL RESOURCES. The Soviet Union is in favor of the national sovereignty of all countries over their natural resources. It resolutely condemns the policy of imperialist circles which consider the deposits of the Gulf countries as their "oil silo" ["ropna komora"], as their property which they can rightly operate and which they can "defend" without the assent of the rightful owners of these deposits.

Times have changed, however. The Middle East countries' difficult road of struggle for their national interests is behind them, and they energetically defend their right to be the masters in their own home.

THE FIFTH POINT, which is a part of L.I. Brezhnev's peace plan, is NOT TO CREATE ANY OBSTACLES OR THREATS TO THE NORMAL TRADE EXCHANGE OR USE OF MARITIME AND OTHER COMMUNICATIONS CONNECTING THE STATES IN THAT PART OF THE WORLD WITH OTHER COUNTRIES. The United States is trying to explain its military presence in the Gulf region as in "America's vital interests." We think that the freedom of navigation in that region is of vital importance not only to the United States--and we even think that it is not of that much importance to the United States, whose coast is on the opposite side of the globe--as it is for the Asian and African countries, as well as for the Soviet Union.

The Soviet Union is willing to discuss the Persian Gulf as a separate problem. The Soviet Union, naturally, is also willing to take part in the settlement of the situation around Afghanistan. However, the Soviet Union is also not opposed, and I want to emphasize this, is not opposed to the issues concerning Afghanistan being assessed in connection with the issues of the Persian Gulf's security.

It is no secret that the Western powers, and especially the United States, ever more frequently demand that these or those issues be assessed in connection with other problems which in many cases are not at all connected with those issues. They submit the "linkage" demands in the first place to freeze or thwart the discussion of issues of importance to peace and security. In such case, the Soviet Union sees no weighty reason to insist on a separate assessment of the issue of the Persian Gulf and the situation around Afghanistan. NATURALLY, ONLY THE INTERNATIONAL ASPECTS OF THE AFGHANISTAN PROBLEM AND NOT AFGHANISTAN'S INTERNAL AFFAIRS CAN BE THE SUBJECT OF AN ASSESSMENT. THE FOUNDATION FOR SUCH AN ASSESSMENT OF THE INTERNATIONAL ASPECTS OF THE AFGHANISTAN PROBLEM COULD CONSIST OF KABUL'S KNOWN PROPOSALS OF 14 MAY 1980, AND THESE ASPECTS CANNOT BE CONTIGUOUS WITH THE SOVEREIGNTY AS WELL AS THE STATUS OF THE NONALIGNED STATE OF AFGHANISTAN.

I would like to draw attention to the fact that in the issue of the Persian Gulf and the situation around Afghanistan, the Soviet Union has met halfway the proposals of the West on combining these two problems. And what has happened? To this very day we have not, and in particular not from Washington, received a positive reply. This is more evidence that the proposal for this combining has been made by Washington not to bring the solution of this or that problem closer, but--on the contrary--to retard or even thwart such an assessment.

The purpose of the Soviet proposals--and this I would like to especially stress--is to begin to constructively assess issues connected with guaranteeing the Persian Gulf's security, and that, above all, among the countries in this region. IN NO CASE CAN WE SPEAK ABOUT SOME SORT OF EXCLUSIVELY SOVIET-AMERICAN DIALOGUE ABOUT THE FATE OF THE AFOREMENTIONED REGION, OR ABOUT THE SOVIET UNION WANTING--AS SOME SOURCES IN THE WEST CLAIM--TO DIVIDE THIS REGION INTO SPHERES OF INFLUENCE WITH THE UNITED STATES. WE ARE IN FAVOR OF A CONSTRUCTIVE ASSESSMENT OF THIS PROBLEM WITH THE PARTICIPATION OF ALL COUNTRIES INVOLVED. Of course, such an assessment must also be attended by the Soviet Union and the United States. It is natural that the nonparticipation of one of these states in the assessment of the problem of the Persian Gulf's security could cause the adopted decisions to be totally nonbinding on it, and thus the whole process of the region's transformation into the zone of peace would actually be back where it started.

One has to frequently fight against assertions about the Soviet Union's interest in the oil wealth of the Persian Gulf countries. In this connection I would recall the words of L.I. Brezhnev at the 26th CPSU Congress about the U.S. attempts to expand its military presence in the Middle East, invoking the "Soviet threat" to the oil regions in the area or to the transportation of oil. Leonid Ilich Brezhnev called this a "knowingly deceitful fabrication, because their authors know well that the USSR wants to reach neither for one nor the other."

On the international scene, a difficult situation has been created, and the process of easing it, of settling several problems, will not be easy. One has to realize that an objective reality exists which neither President Reagan's administration nor any other administration can change if it proceeds from a position of gross pressure and military strength.

The Soviet proposals formulated at the 26th congress encompass a set of serious problems. They have no propaganda character, but are dictated by one of the main objectives--to find the way to strengther peace and curtail the arms race. In this connection I would like to recall the speech by our party and state representative, L.I. BREZHNEV, IN PRAGUE ON 7 APRIL 1981, WHEN HE STRESSED THAT "SUCCESS IN MUTUAL NEGOTIATIONS WILL COME ONLY WHEN ATTEMPTS TO DICTATE CONDITIONS TO ONE ANOTHER ARE PUT ASIDE. WE EXPECT SUCH AN APPROACH ALSO FROM OTHER COUNTRIES. WE HAVE NOT SUBMITTED OUR PROPOSALS AT THE 26TH CONGRESS FOR PROPAGANDA REASONS, BUT IN ORDER TO HELP ACHIEVE COMPREHENSIVELY ACCEPTABLE AGREEMENTS IN THE INTERESTS OF PEACE--OF PEACE IN EUROPE, ASIA, AMERICA, AND IN THE MIDDLE EAST AND SOUTH ASIA: IN THE NAME OF UNIVERSAL PEACE.

The vital interests of nations demand continuing the process of relaxation of tension. It cannot be avoided because there is no realistic alternative to the relaxation of tension. Not force, not the arms race, not disputing the legitimate rights and interests of other states and nations, especially the rights of the Arab people of Palestine, but diversified cooperation among them on the basis of the principles of equality--that, in our conviction, is the only correct way of managing international affairs.

SOLTAN ON COURSE OF DETENTE, SOVIET FOREIGN POLICY

LD200004 Moscow in Turkish to Turkey 1400 GMT 19 May 81

[Yuriy Soltan commentary: "The Main Aim of Soviet Foreign Policy"]

[Text] How can the danger of war threatening the world be eliminated? The experience of the 1970's provides an answer to this question. It will be recalled that objective conditions for the settlement of international disagreements and disputes through talks were created in the 1970's. The United States agreed that there was no alternative to the principle of peaceful coexistence in its relations with the Soviet Union. Important agreements were reached in the realm of limitations in the arms race, particularly in nuclear arms. Great advances were achieved in East-West economic and cultural relations. In short, the policy called international detente gained the upper hand. International detente was the result of the joint determined efforts of the Soviet Union, the other socialist countries and all the sensible forces of our era. To safeguard and to deepen detente without violating its foundation, that is, the strategic and military equilibrium between the world of socialism and the world of capitalism, that is how politicians, including Western politicians, saw the way to institute a stable and balanced relation between the states.

It was true that there were enemies of detente even then or, to put it another way, forces that directly or indirectly served preparations for war, such as the military cliques and the monopolies connected with it. Their people in the government bureaucracy and in the media opposed detente. Now, the struggle against the policy of detente is assuming the proportions of a state policy. American President Ronald Reagan states: We need peace based on strength. U.S. Secretary of Defense Casper Weinberger, in turn, says the following: If the movement from cold war to detente means progress, allow me to say that we cannot afford too much progress.

To adopt such postures and to reject detente amounts to embarking upon a course of confrontation that can open the way to a nuclear war. In the current prevailing conditions, when the means of war are so highly developed, the creation of a danger of war threatens not individual countries or a group of countries but all countries and peoples.

The Soviet Union could, as a response to the attacks by the United States or some of its NATO partners, embark upon a course of confrontation. This is exactly the course onto which certain circles in the West are trying to goad the Soviet Union by inciting anti-Soviet sentiment, by creating enmity between the East and the West and by putting fabrications and calumnies into circulation. But the characteristic features of Soviet foreign policy are not those of nervousness and anger but of consistency and moderation. Detente is the main direction. In his speech on 9 May in Kiev, Leonid Brezhnev said the following: The international situation may get better or worse. But it is very important not to deviate from the right course. We shall strive consistently to reduce tension and to preserve and develop detente.

CONFERENCE ON SANCTIONS AGAINST S. AFRICA VIEWED

LD191942 Moscow TASS in English 1754 GMT 19 May 81

[By TASS commentator Vyacheslav Muravyev]

[Text] Moscow, 19 May, TASS--An international conference on sanctions against the South African Republic is scheduled to open in Paris tomorrow. It will be held under the U.N. aegis and in close cooperation with the Organization of African Unity. The conference is to be an important step in the efforts to isolate the racialists, to give support to the liberation struggle of the peoples in the south of Africa.

Acting contrary to the U.N. Charter and decisions, the Pretoria authorities continue the inhuman policy of racialist arbitrary rule in South Africa, unlawfully occupy Namibia, incessantly perpetrate acts of aggression against the neighbour countries. In implementing their repressive and aggressive policy, which is a threat to international peace and security, the ruling circles of the South African Republic rely themselves on the political, economic and military support of the USA and the other NATO member-countries.

The imperialists regard Pretoria to be the last bastion of their influence on the African Continent, a tool of predatory policy. Therefore, the Western countries do their utmost to prevent the imposition of effective sanctions against the South African Republic and simultaneously try to take the resolution of the Namibian problem out of the U.N. framework so as to impose on the people of Namibia a neo-colonialist resolution of the problem. At the same time the ruling circles of the USA try to equate the national liberation struggle of the peoples in the south of Africa to terrorism, which actually constitutes a denial of the legitimate rights of peoples to struggle for freedom and independence, against colonialism and its vestiges, against apartheid and racialism.

The socialist countries, the Soviet Union together with all the progressive forces of the world fully support the [word indistinct] struggle of the African peoples. The USSR's principled stand on this issue is well-known: The Soviet Union fully sides with the African peoples in their struggle against the preservation of the vestiges of colonialism and racialism in Africa in any form, against neo-colonialism. It has consistently come out and continues coming out for the immediate and full withdrawal of South African troops from Namibia and turning over power to the Namibian people, whose sole legitimate representative is the South-West African People's Organization (SWAPO), for the elimination of the apartheid system in the South African Republic.

In conditions when Pretoria stubbornly refuses to heed the opinion of the world community, all-embracing sanctions are the most effective means. The Soviet Union declares in support of the demand of the African countries that measures be taken against the Pretoria regime that would provide for its diplomatic isolation, embargo on trade with the South African Republic and oil supplies to it, a ban on the granting of loans and investments to it, an end to air and sea communications with the racialist state.

Jointly with the African countries the Soviet Union insists on strict observance by all countries of the embargo on arms and ammunition supplies to South Africa, which was imposed by the Security Council as well as the decisions of the United Nations Organization on ending all forms of cooperation with South Africa in the nuclear field.

The imposition of all-embracing mandatory sanctions against the Pretoria regime is a long-ripe measure. The international community is called upon to contribute in every way possible to its implementation so as to do its duty to the embattled peoples of the African Continent.

Brezhnev Greetings

LD191750 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1500 GMT 19 May 81

["Text" of message sent by Leonid Ilich Brezhnev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee and chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium to the international conference on sanctions against South Africa]

[Text] On behalf of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, the Soviet people, and myself, I cordially greet the participants of the international conference on sanctions against South Africa, convened by a decision of the UN General Assembly.

The South African racist regime, acting contrary to the Charter and resolutions of the United Nations and ignoring the demands of an overwhelming majority of world states continues, with outside support, the policy of apartheid and mass terror. It illegally keeps Namibia under its dominance and stages unceasing acts of aggression against neighboring African states. Thereby the actions of the Republic of South Africa pose a threat to international peace and security.

To take effective measures in accordance with UN resolutions to eliminate the seats of colonialism and racism in Africa's south is a pressing step which the international community is called upon to make in order to perform its duty to the embattled peoples of the African Continent.

Two opposite trends in world politics manifest themselves in this question. Resolutely coming out together with independent African countries for sanctions against the Republic of South Africa are the member-states of the Nonaligned Movement, the countries of the socialist community and all those who adhere to the cause of strengthening peace and detente and of upholding the sovereign rights and freedom of peoples. Sanctions are opposed by those who cooperate with the racists in the economic, political and military fields, and who are actually accomplices to their crimes.

One can also find state figures who, showing disregard for the rights and aspirations of peoples, are trying to label the liberation struggle of the oppressed peoples as terrorism. They would like to set up a barrier to progressive changes in Africa and in the world and to regain the role of rulers of people's destinies.

However, they seek to attain the unattainable, as no one is destined to stop the march of history. The emergence of the Republic of Zimbabwe and the growing intensity of the liberation struggle in Namibia and in the Republic of South Africa itself vividly show the futility of all their efforts.

I express the hope that the work of such a representative international forum as this conference will become a major landmark in the efforts to isolate the racists in Africa's south and that it will be of support to the just liberation struggle being waged by the peoples of South Africa and Namibia.

The Soviet Union, as was again emphasized at the recent 26th CPSU Congress, consistently pursues a course toward support for the national liberation movements, toward a firm rebuff to the aggressive intrigues of imperialism, and toward adoption of resolute measures aimed at eradicating racism and apartheid.

GERASIMOV COMMENTS ON REAGAN NOTRE DAME ADDRESS

LD192318 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 2030 GMT 19 May 81

[Gennadiy Gerasimov commentary]

[Text] U.S. President Ronald Reagan has addressed the students of one of the American universities.

One cannot deny that the speaker has high-flown thoughts, so high, however, that all connection with reality is lost, international affairs journalist Gennadiy Gerasimov notes.

In his speech, the President dismissed communism, giving the assurance that the West will not contain communism but will transcend it.

If the President really believes in such a prospect he would not have made anticommunism the basis of his entire foreign policy. If, in actual fact, he attempted to transcend it he would very much surprise the entire would, because in his speech the President's arguments regarding the great ideas of Western civilization--which allegedly have found (?their) incarnation in the American way of life--do not transcend the level of high-flown banalities.

It is interesting to note that Jimmy Carter, Reagan's predecessor to the post of president, spoke the day after Reagan and shared his thoughts with his audience about how the world had gone mad. He enumerated the things that were depressing him--the threat of war, the murder of children in his native state, the attempt on the life of the pope in Rome, the hunger strikes of prisoners in northern Ireland and assassinations for religious motives. Briefly, he enumerated the things which are everyday phenomena in this aforementioned Western civilization.

Reagan himself became the victim of an assassination attempt.

Reagan himself talked of the economic stagnation engendered by inflation and of the inordinately high taxes. Evidently having failed to find any inspiring examples in today's bourgeois daily occurrences which might lift the West above communism, the President appealed to the West: It is time to be bold [derzat]. However, he did not explain what he had in mind specifically and, as if admitting that he does not find confirmation in real life of what he is saying, the President added: A source of strength lies in the belief in something higher, a law higher than our own laws.

Here it is appropriate to recall a proverb which is popular among Americans: In God We Trust, All Others Must Pay Cash. This proverb is quite meaningful but it shows that the President's audience had a sufficiently sober view of things, which means they expected from him not merely high-flown rhetoric. However, the West is lacking cash and also lacking values such as justice, equality, confidence in the future and many other blessings most important to man.

BUSH ANTI-SOVIET REMARKS IN SPEECH CRITICIZED

LD192054 Moscow TASS in English 1852 GMT 19 May 81

[By TASS correspondent Yuriy Levchenko]

[Text] Washington, 19 May TASS--Official Washington is intensifying the brainwashing of the Americans in the anti-Soviet, militaristic spirit. Practically daily, leading officials of the U.S. administration make statements reminiscent of the worst "cold war" times, in trying to justify the course "cannons instead of butter," which has been taken by the White House and promises enormous profits for the military industrial complex, but causes irreparable damage to the vital interests of the broadest sections of the country's population.

This time the "relay baton" of militaristic propaganda has been taken over by Vice-President George Bush.

Addressing the congress of the international federation of the periodical press, he bluntly declared that the Republican administration would proceed in its foreign policy "from the positions of strength", that President Reagan had been in power only a very short time, but had allegedly already carried out a whole number of "highly positive" foreign policy and defence measures. George Bush said that the President is resolved to restore U.S. might and leadership. To provide a foundation for this might, G. Bush pointed out, he had decided to appropriate the necessary resources for the restoration of our military might.

The Vice-President said that Washington had succeeded in getting from its partners in the NATO bloc "unanimity on very important problems," including the question of deployment of the latest medium-range nuclear missiles in Western Europe.

Judging by the pronouncements by George Bush, the dictators and butchers of the peoples of Latin America, Asia and Africa can hope for Washington's "full understanding" and support. He gave them a "carte blanche" for toughening terror against opposition and progressive forces. It is only by the imperial ambitions of the Washington administration, that one can explain the boastal statements by George Bush that the USA has taken "firm measures" to combat the "guerrilla rebellion" in El Salvador and the direct attempt at diktat towards the Salvadorean people, which was manifest in the statement that the USA opposes the coming to power of leftwing forces in that country.

U.S. MILITARY BUILDUP PLANS IN MIDDLE EAST HIT

LD191258 Moscow TASS in English 1140 GMT 19 May 81

[Text] New York, 19 May, TASS--After proclaiming vast areas as a zone of "vital interests" of the United States, Washington is stepping up plans for strengthening the American military presence in the oil-bearing region of the Near and Middle East.

The Pentagon sent a secret report to the United States Congress, setting forth an eight-year programme for a steep increase in the possibilities of the United States Armed Froces of lifting large contingents of troops and consignments of military equipment to that region, the ARMED FORCES JOURNAL international reports. According to preliminary estimates, the magazine goes on to say, the implementation of the plans for making the armed forces more mobile could cost 31,000 million dollars. The Pentagon plans to spend 15,000 million dollars of them on the purchase of more heavy military transport aircraft.

Some 3,000 million dollars are earmarked for the purchase of naval transports which can rapidly carry large consignments of armaments and landing forces to any part of the world.

At the same time the Pentagon strategists are going to station "floating military stores" in the Persian Gulf and Indian Ocean region, where some 130,000 tons of various arms and equipment would be constantly maintained. In an "emergency", the Pentagon only has to airlift troops there. According to the magazine, another naval task force, made up of several warships with Marines on board, is to be moved to the Indian Ocean.

The latest Pentagon secret report, leaked out in the press, is further evidence of the aggressive United States plans in the Near and Middle East.

PRC ARMED PROVOCATIONS IN SOUTHEAST ASIA VIEWED

LD192130 Moscow in Serbo-Croatian to Yugoslavia 1600 GMT 19 May 81

[Text] Beijing is increasing its hostile aggressive actions against Vietnam, Laos and Kampuchea, our commentator Leonid Krichevskiy says the following in this connection:

Chinese Armed Forces made incursions into Vietnam's northern provinces four times during the last 10 days of this month. Their artillery shelled areas which lie 10-12 km from the border. The provincial center of Lang Som was shelled for the first time since the 1979 aggression. There are dead and wounded among the civilian population following armed attacks. Large material damage was caused. The scale of armed provocations is also growing in other regions along the Vietnamese-Chinese border. Because of Beijing the situation is tense along virtually the whole border.

The increase in aggressive actions against the Socialist Republic of Vietnam, our commentator says, is closely linked with Beijing's general policy of further exacerbation of the situation in Indochina and Southeast Asia as a whole. Chinese military provocations against Laos are becoming more and more frequent. A memorandum recently issued by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Laos shows that Chinese troops continue to be concentrated near the Lao border. Chinese units have made deep incursions into Lao territory, and border posts and settlements are frequently under attack from artillery and mortar fire.

The situation on the Kampuchean-Thai border is also growing more tense day by day. Beijing is supplying Pol Pot's bands with arms and ammunition, and the Beijing leadership is obviously following a policy of exacerbating the situation. (?Further concentrations) and escalation of tension, instead of a peaceful dialogue, provide the basis for this policy. As is well known, the Chinese leaders have rejected the proposal of the Socialist Republic of Vietnam for a resumption of bilateral talks, while this year the Beijing authorities also rejected the constructive initiative of Vietnam, Laos and Kampuchea on signing bilateral agreements on peaceful coexistence. Would that not have contributed to agreements on peaceful coexistence, would that not have contributed to the creation of the conditions needed to end tension in Southeast Asia? There is no doubt that it would, which is the reason why Beijing turned down this proposal. By exacerbating the situation in Indochina, China is exacerbating the situation in the whole of Southeast Asia, and its aggressive actions against Vietnam, Laos and Kampuchea are only part of Beijing's expansionist plans in Southeast Asia. The Indian weekly LINK justifiably wrote a short while ago: Beijing leaders consider the existence of peaceful states in the Indochinese Peninsula--Vietnam, Laos and Kampuchea--to be the main obstacle to the realization of their hegemonist plans. This is the reason why Beijing, together with Washington, is trying to prevent any dialogue between these states and the member countries of ASEAN. The aim is to frustrate the process of relaxation in Southeast Asia, a policy running counter to the interests of all the peoples of the region and to the cause of general peace.

KUZNETSOV VIEWS SOLIDARITY'S ROLE IN POLAND

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[Second and final part of Feliks Kuznetsov "Writer's Notes," datelined "Warsaw-Moscow": "Bloodless Front"--capitalized passages published in boldface]

[Text] What Sort of Body Is Solidarity?

THE FORMAL ANSWER TO THAT QUESTION IS AS FOLLOWS: "AN INDEPENDENT SELF-ADMINISTERING TRADE UNION" WHICH EMERGED ON THE WAVE OF ACUTE SOCIOPOLITICAL CRISIS IN POLAND IN THE SUMMER OF 1980 AND WAS REGISTERED BY THE POLICE SUPREME COURT AS A CONSTITUTIONAL ORGANIZATION ON 10 NOVEMBER 1980. IN ITS RULES THE TRADE UNION PROMISED TO PERFORM PURELY TRADE UNION AND IN NO WAY POLITICAL FUNCTIONS IN SOCIETY, "TO BUILD ITS ACTIVITY WHILE OBSERVING THE POLISH CONSTITUTION AND THE PRINCIPLE OF SOCIAL OWNERSHIP OF THE MEANS OF PRODUCTION, WHICH IS THE ECONOMIC FOUNDATION OF THE SOCIALIST SYSTEM EXISTING IN POLAND" AND TO RECOGNIZE THE PZPR'S LEADING ROLE AND POLAND'S PREVAILING SYSTEM OF INTERNATIONAL ALLIANCES.

The unusual situation produced unusual organizational forms and unusual models in Poland's social life. Displaying good will and a desire for the country's socialist renewal, the party and the government consented to the creation of the new trade union association although the Polish Constitution did not compel them to do so. Unfortunately, certain circles regarded this good will as weakness of which full use should be made. In their eyes Solidarity was a suitable means of driving the government [vlast] into a corner, aggravating the situation and bringing it to the boiling point, if not the point of explosion.

Because of the circumstances in which it emerged, the Solidarity trade union was from the outset fraught with profound and acute contradictions. The struggle among these was to determine what the trade union would become and what forces it would serve.

AS COMRADE STANISLAW KANIA SAID IN HIS REPORT AT THE PZPR CENTRAL COMMITTEE 10TH PLENUM, THE RELATIONS BETWEEN THE PARTY AND SOLIDARITY ARE DETERMINED BY TWO FACTORS. FIRST, THERE ARE OUR INTENTIONS TOWARD SOLIDARITY FROM THE MOMENT IT WAS ESTABLISHED. WE HAVE BASED THEM ON THE ORGANIZERS' DECLARATION, ENSHRINED IN THE REGULATIONS, THAT THE TRADE UNION OCCUPIES POSITIONS OF SOCIALISM, RECOGNIZES THE PARTY'S LEADING ROLE IN THE STATE AND OUR INTERNATIONAL ALLIANCES, AND WILL NOT ASPIRE TO THE ROLE OF A POLITICAL PARTY.

"THE SECOND FACTOR DETERMINING OUR ATTITUDE TO SOLIDARITY IS THE FACTS, THE PRACTICE ACCOMPANYING THE ACTIVITY OF THE TRADE UNION, ITS COMPONENTS AND FIGURES." A PRACTICE THAT IN MANY RESPECTS DIRECTLY CONTRADICTS THOSE DECLARATIONS: "THE STRIKE WEAPON IS USED TOO THOUGHTLESSLY, AND THERE HAVE BEEN CASES OF THE SEIZURE OF ENTERPRISES DURING STRIKES. MANY TRADE UNION PUBLICATIONS ARE ATTACKING THE PRINCIPLES OF OUR SYSTEM, OUR ALLIANCES AND THE PARTY. THE SPEECHES AT TRADE UNION MEETINGS BY THE WELL-KNOWN OPPONENTS OF SOCIALISM FROM THE KSS-KOR [Social Self-Defense Committee] LEADERSHIP AND THEIR REAL INFLUENCE IN THE TRADE UNION ARE CAUSING CONCERN."

THE WAY THINGS HAVE TURNED OUT, THESE TWO FACTORS, THESE TWO SEEMINGLY MUTUALLY EXCLUSIVE TENDENCIES, WERE RIGHT FROM THE OUTSET FUSED TOGETHER AND TIGHTLY TWISTED INTO A TRULY DIABOLICAL MESH THANKS TO THE EXTREMELY SKILLFUL AND SUBTLE DECEPTION OF A CONSIDERABLE SECTION OF THE WORKERS BY THE NEWFOUND "FRIENDS OF THE PEOPLE."

YOU WOULD THINK YOU COULD EXPECT AND HOPE THAT THE ASPIRATIONS OF THE PEOPLE'S MASSES FOR SOCIALIST RENEWAL WOULD LEAD, WITH THE AID OF SOLIDARITY, TO THE SPECIFIC, PRACTICAL REVELATION OF THEIR CIVIC ENERGY AND CONSEQUENTLY TO MARKED IMPROVEMENTS IN LIFE AND LABOR--IT WAS CLEARLY PRIMARILY THESE HOPES THAT ATTRACTED BROAD MASSES OF THE WORKING CLASS AND THE LABOR INTELLIGENTSIA INTO THE NEW TRADE UNIONS. TODAY SOLIDARITY HAS ABOUT 8 MILLION MEMBERS, TWO-THIRDS OF POLAND'S WORKING CLASS, INCLUDING ABOUT 1 MILLION OF THE 3 MILLION COMMUNISTS MAKING UP THE PZPR....

What is the practical result of more than 6 months of Solidarity activity? Maybe Poland's working people have begun to live and work better? Has labor productivity increased? Has production organization improved? Has Poland made headway toward getting out of the extremely serious crisis threatening the country's social and national existence?

Nothing of the sort.

Listen to the pain, to the cri de coeur that rang out during the latest threat of a general strike: "MILLIONS OF PEOPLE ARE ASKING THEMSELVES: 'WHAT WILL HAPPEN NEXT? WHERE ARE WE GOING AS A PEOPLE, WHAT SORT OF FATE ARE WE PREPARING FOR OURSELVES?'" THE NEWSPAPER ZOLNIERZ WOLNOSCI WROTE AT THE TIME. "THERE IS A SHORTAGE OF BASIC FOODSTUFFS IN THE COUNTRY. THE LINES FOR BREAD, MILK AND FLOUR HAVE GOTTEN LONGER. PEOPLE ARE EXTREMELY IRRITATED AND TIRED. IN AN ECONOMIC SITUATION THAT EVERY POLE CAN SEE AND IS WELL AWARE OF, DO WE STILL HAVE TO CONVINCE ONE ANOTHER THAT FURTHER SOCIAL CONFLICT LEADS STRAIGHT TO DISASTER?"

THINK ABOUT THE STATE OF MIND OF Z. OZIOL, A MAN, PATRIOT AND CITIZEN WHO DECIDED TO BURN HIMSELF TO DEATH IN ORDER TO GET THROUGH TO HIS FELLOW COUNTRYMEN IN THE SOLIDARITY LEADERSHIP: "REALIZE AT LAST WHAT DAMAGE YOU ARE CAUSING TO THE FATHERLAND. ARE YOU BLIND AND UNABLE TO SEE THAT YOU ARE LEADING THE COUNTRY TO NATIONAL CATASTROPHE BY YOUR ACTIONS? TWO CENTURIES AGO POLAND'S RULERS CAUSED THE PEOPLE THE LOSS OF THEIR FREEDOM. TODAY OUR ENEMIES ARE DOING THE SAME THING THROUGH WORKERS' HANDS AND ARE SEEKING TO ENSURE THAT THE COUNTRY, RESTORED AFTER THE WAR BY SUCH HARD WORK, IS DESTROYED ONCE AGAIN. WHO EMPOWERED YOU TO DECIDE THE COUNTRY'S FATE? HISTORY WILL NOT FORGIVE YOU.

The following is a self-evident and therefore particularly painful fact: The time since the events of August 1980, which has proceeded beneath the sign of turbulent activity by the Solidarity trade union association, has not just failed to bring any marked shifts in the economy and economic activity or improvement in the Polish people's life, indeed the reverse is the case: The country's economy is literally on the brink of catastrophe.

It has been necessary to introduce rationing of meat, butter, sugar, flour, groats and other products.

That is food for thought and conscience-searching for all patriotic, civic-minded people, for all who really care about their fatherland's fate rather than merely expressing concern, for all who are really worried about the living standards of the working people's masses. Such people presumably constitute the majority among the 8 million rank-and-file Solidarity members.

You don't need to be a genius to see that you can't make something out of nothing: bread out of a pamphlet, say, or coal out of empty talk, oil out of a strike, a workers' apartment out of demagogic hot air. What you earn is what you get. People's living standards in a socialist society are entirely determined by the level, quantity and quality of social labor.

Are the new trade unions aware of their responsibility to the people and to society for matching the extent of labor and the extent of consumption, the extent of desires with the extent of possibilities, and for ensuring that still greater and still more complex difficulties do not emerge out of the existing ones? Practice usually provides the best answer.

And practice shows that in the last 6 months the extremist section of Solidarity has directed the trade union's energy toward completely different aims that are a long way from working people's true needs and interests.

Appearance and Reality

"The majority--and there are millions of Solidarity members who are real patriots and often party members--want tranquility and labor to reign in Poland, want life to be increasingly good, want socialist Poland to strengthen...," Gen. W. Jaruzelski, chairman of the Polish Council of Ministers, said at the recent Sejm session. But unfortunately, by no means everybody in Solidarity--and especially in its leadership--wants that. Within Solidarity's leadership or its rear services, General Jaruzelski said, "there are individuals and groups with excessive political ambitions." These are the "extremist, dangerous forces" represented, in particular, by the KSS figures, who "feel most comfortable in an atmosphere of conflict. That is their element. In the maelstroms of that element they are trying to strengthen their positions and destroy the government [vlast] in a desire to take it over themselves."

AS M. RAKOWSKI, DEPUTY CHAIRMAN OF THE POLISH COUNCIL OF MINISTERS, SAID AT THE SEJM SESSION, THESE "DEMAGOGUES OF EVERY STRIPES" WHO "SURFACED FROM THE WAVE OF POPULAR PROTEST, USED EXTREME RADICAL SLOGANS AND WITH ANY SPECIAL RESISTANCE GAINED A HOLD ON THE MINDS OF MANY WORKING PEOPLE" HAVE TODAY "SWITCHED FROM ATTACKS ON LOCAL POWER STRUCTURES TO ATTACKS ON THE PEOPLE'S POWER IN GENERAL...." IT IS THEY WHO THROUGHOUT THESE MONTHS HAVE NEEDLESSLY CREATED AND AGGRAVATED SOCIAL TENSION, INTRODUCED DESTABILIZATION INTO SOCIETY WITH ALL THEIR MIGHT AND IN EVERY POSSIBLE WAY, AND SOUGHT TO ESTABLISH VERY REAL DYARCHY IN THE COUNTRY. "IT HAS EVEN LOOKED AS THOUGH ANOTHER STATE, ORGANIZED BY CERTAIN SOLDIDARITY ELEMENTS, WAS EMERGING WITHIN THE POLISH STATE," M. RAKOWSKI STRESSED.

Employing psychological pressure by means of blackmail and threats and further social destabilization and anarchy, a section of the Solidarity leaders has deliberately put forward more and more new economic demands--sometimes alluring ones--knowing in advance that these demands were infeasible. They have awakened consumerist instincts in people, orienting them toward taking as much as possible from society without giving the forcibly demanded material wealth.

THIS PARASITICAL AND ESSENTIALLY UTTERLY DEMAGOGIC PHILOSOPHY, THIS DESIRE TO SHRUG OFF THE RESPONSIBILITY FOR PROVIDING PEOPLE WITH WARMTH AND CLOTHING, LIGHT AND FOOD, WORK AND MEDICAL ASSISTANCE, WAS CLEARLY MANIFESTED IN THE RECENTLY-PUBLISHED "PROGRAM" FOR SOLIDARITY'S ACTIVITIES. A DETAILED DESCRIPTION OF THIS DOCUMENT IS CONTAINED IN THE ARTICLE ENTITLED "THE POLISH PRESS ON THE SOLIDARITY PROGRAM" IN PRAVDA (8 MAY 1981). THIS PROGRAM HAS A GREAT DEAL TO SAY ABOUT WHAT THE TRADE UNION IS GOING TO DEMAND AND WHAT IT INTENDS TO CONTROL BUT, AS COMRADE STANISLAW KANIA STRESSED AT THE 10TH PZPR CENTRAL COMMITTEE PLENUM, "IT IS MUCH HARDER TO FIND ANY MENTION OF WHAT SORT OF JOINT RESPONSIBILITY SOLIDARITY INTENDS TO ASSUME IN OUR COUNTRY AND IN OUR STATE."

OVER THE TURBULENT 8 MONTHS OF SOLIDARITY'S EXISTENCE MANY TRULY GLARING CONTRADICTIONS BETWEEN THE APPEARANCE AND THE REALITY, BETWEEN THE INITIAL WORDS AND THE SUBSEQUENT DEEDS, CONTRADICTIONS DEMONSTRATING THE FULL EXTENT OF KSS MYSTIFICATION AND DECEPTION OF THE POLISH PEOPLE AND POLISH SOCIETY, HAVE BEEN FULLY REVEALED THANKS TO THE EXTREMIST FORCES IN THE UNION'S LEADERSHIP.

AFTER BEGINNING BY CRITICIZING ECONOMIC DISPROPORTIONS AND CONFUSION IN SOCIALISM, THE SOLIDARITY EXTREMISTS HAVE NOT SIMPLY AGGRAVATED THESE ILLS BUT HAVE PROBABLY DONE EVERYTHING POSSIBLE TO BEING POLAND'S ECONOMY TO COLLAPSE AND TO PLACE THE COUNTRY ON THE EDGE OF ECONOMIC BANKRUPTCY.

AFTER BEGINNING BY CRITICIZING VOLUNTARISM AND INSTABILITY IN POLAND'S FOREIGN ECONOMIC TIES, THEY HAVE UTTERLY DISORGANIZED THOSE TIES, DEPRIVING THE COUNTRY OF THE ABILITY TO FULFILL ITS ECONOMIC COMMITMENTS TO ITS PARTNERS.

AFTER BEGINNING WITH CALLS FOR MODESTY AND WITH CRITICISM OF THE FORMER LEADERSHIP FOR ITS EXTRAVAGANCE IN SPENDING THE PEOPLE'S MONEY AND FOR ITS OVERSTAFFING, IN ABOUT 6 MONTHS THE SOLIDARITY EXTREMISTS HAVE CREATED AN ADMINISTRATIVE APPARATUS MANY TIMES LARGER THAN THAT OF THE TRADE UNIONS THAT EXISTED PREVIOUSLY, AND HAVE SET UP A FORTRESS-LIKE SOLIDARITY HEADQUARTERS THAT HAS THE MOST MODERN TELEX COMMUNICATIONS AND SECURITY DETACHMENTS. ALL THESE SERVICES HAVE TO BE MAINTAINED AND PAID FOR. WITH WHAT FUNDS, ONE WONDERS?

HAVING BEGUN WITH CALLS FOR THE STRICT OBSERVANCE OF LEGALITY, THE SOLIDARITY EXTREMISTS ARE CONDUCTING THEIR ACTIVITY IN EVASION OF THE LAWS EXISTING IN POLAND, PROCLAIMING POLITICAL STRIKES, WILLFULLY SEIZING BUILDINGS THAT BELONG TO THE STATE AND TO PUBLIC ORGANIZATIONS, AND SO FORTH....

HAVING BEGUN WITH CALLS FOR DEMOCRACY, TOLERANCE AND "PLURALISM," THE KSS REPRESENTATIVES WITHIN SOLIDARITY ARE DISPLAYING FLAGRANT INTOLERANCE TOWARD ANY OPINION THAT DIFFERS FROM KSS, TERROR TOWARD THE DISOBEDIENT, AND BLACKMAIL, INCLUDING THE THREAT OF PHYSICAL VIOLENCE AGAINST THOSE WHO, FOR INSTANCE, MAKE SO BOLD AS TO GO TO WORK IN DEFIANCE OF THE EXTREMISTS' ORDERS.

AFTER BEGINNING WITH TRIBUTES TO MORALITY AND ETHICS AND WITH CALLS FOR PERSONAL MODESTY AND HONESTY, THE KSS HYPOCRITES ARE RESORTING TO DECEPTION AND LIES, HYPOCRISY, THE CONCEALMENT OF TRUE AIMS AND INTENTIONS, MYTHMAKING AND MYSTIFICATION, WITHOUT WHICH KSS WOULD NOT SURVIVE A SINGLE DAY IN POLAND, WITHOUT WHICH IT WOULD BE UNABLE TO MANIPULATE THE MASSES.

THUS DENIAL AND DERISION OF ALL THAT EXISTS, AND NO CONSTRUCTIVE PROGRAM WHATEVER ARE WHAT CHARACTERIZES THE EXTREMIST FACTION IN THE SOLIDARITY LEADERSHIP TODAY. IT IS DISPLAYING A DESIRE TO DUCK OUT OF ANSWERING ALL THE VITAL QUESTIONS THAT LIFE IS POSING: HOW TO ENSURE THAT LABOR BECOMES HIGHLY PRODUCTIVE AT LAST, THAT THE PROUD, INDUSTRIOUS AND TALENTED POLISH PEOPLE CAN ADEQUATELY FEED, CLOTHE AND SHOE THEMSELVES, THAT SOCIAL LABOR IS OF HIGH ENOUGH QUALITY AND THEREFORE COMPETITIVE IN THE WORLD MARKET, AND SO FORTH....

Rain of Gold

WHAT ATTRACTS THE SOLIDARITY EXTREMISTS IS THE THRILL, THE EXCITEMENT OF ANOTHER, OPENLY POLITICAL AND COUNTERREVOLUTIONARY STRUGGLE. IT IS FOR PRECISELY THIS REASON THAT THE SO-CALLED WEST LOVES THEM AND SUPPORTS THEM IN EVERY POSSIBLE WAY, IN THE PROCESS SHAMELESSLY ACCUSING THE SOVIET UNION OF IMAGINED "INTERFERENCE" IN SOCIALIST POLAND'S AFFAIRS.

BLACK REACTIONARY ORGANIZATIONS SUCH AS, FOR INSTANCE, THE AFL-CIO IN THE UNITED STATES, THE FORMER EMPIRE OF GEORGE MEANY WHICH HAS LONG BEEN MIXED UP WITH THE CIA, AND SIMILAR ORGANIZATIONS IN EUROPE ARE SPARING NEITHER MONEY NOR RESOURCES TO HELP SOLIDARITY.

ADDRESSING A CONFERENCE OF NEW YORK UNIVERSITY LECTURERS, A SOLIDARITY EMISSARY, ONE HELENA SZMUNES, WHO POSES AS A POLISH JOJRNALIST, SAID: "SO FAR THE AMERICAN LABOR UNIONS HAVE BEEN VERY GENEROUS IN THEIR SUPPORT FOR THE POLISH WORKERS, HAVE OFFERED FUNDS TO THE NEW TRADE UNIONS IN POLAND AND HAVE GIVEN THE POLISH WORKERS MORAL SUPPORT. WE URGENTLY NEED MONEY IN ORDER TO PUBLISH NEWSPAPERS AND BOOKS INDEPENDENTLY OF THE COMMUNIST GOVERNMENT (!) AND TO RENT PREMISES AND EDUCATIONAL ESTABLISHMENTS. I ASK YOU MOST HUMBLY TO SUPPORT US, TO SPEAK OUT IN SUPPORT OF OUR CAUSE, TO SHARE WITH US YOUR IDEAS OF FREEDOM, DEMOCRACY AND HUMAN DIGNITY...." YOU COULDN'T PUT IT MORE PLAINLY THAN THAT, AS THE SAYING GOES:

The call was heeded: The AFL-CIO proclaimed the Solidarity trade union association to be the first winner of the "George Meany international prize for services in defending human rights."

No, it is not because of "trade union" services that Solidarity is being showered with gold in the shape of dollars, francs, pounds sterling, and so forth. It is not for the sake of Polish working people's professional and social interests that Solidarity is being sent printing presses and printer's ink, typewriters and tape recorders, duplicating and printing equipment. The money and apparatus--and the "journalist" Szmunes is right about this--are needed by the Solidarity leaders in order to "publish newspapers and books independently of the communist government" and to carry out subversive propaganda activity.

There is yet another contradiction between appearance and reality in the Solidarity trade union association today: While calling itself a trade union, Solidarity--or, to be more accurate, its extremist leadership--does practically nothing about its direct trade union duties, about resolving the specific practical tasks of labor organization and of providing working people with everything necessary, which is what the Polish working people are desperately waiting for.

That is no secret to anyone in Poland either. That irrefutable fact is borne out even by so superobjective a witness as Lech Walesa, the top Solidarity leader.

ANSWERING THE QUESTIONS OF A LE MONDE CORRESPONDENT, WALESA DID NOT EVEN VENTURE TO CALL SOLIDARITY A TRADE UNION. "...IT IS A SOCIAL MOVEMENT, NOTHING MORE," HE DECLARED. AND HE WENT ON TO EXPLAIN HIS THOUGHT IN THE FOLLOWING TERMS: "...IT ALL HAS TO BE SAID: IN THE ATMOSPHERE OF CONFRONTATION FOLLOWING THE SIGNING OF THE AGREEMENTS, WE WERE UNABLE TO AVOID A MISTAKE," HE TOLD LE MONDE. "WE SHOULD HAVE BEGUN FIRST OF ALL BY ORGANIZING THE SOLIDARITY TRADE UNION ASSOCIATION AND ENGAGING IN TRADE UNION EDUCATIONAL WORK. WE WERE UNABLE TO DO THIS." A VERY ELOQUENT AND TRUTHFUL ADMISSION: AN ADMISSION THAT APPLIES TO SOMETHING MUCH BIGGER THAN THE NATURE OF SOLIDARITY ITSELF.

For today what we are faced with is certainly not a trade union, but some sort of "social movement" pursuing goals differing from a trade union's, goals differing in their objective content--POLITICAL goals. What then is to become of the Gdansk agreement that Solidarity so loves to cite and whose irreproachable fulfillment by the party and the government is demanded by Solidarity and its transatlantic and NATO patrons? After all, in signing the agreement the government was recognizing the fact of the existence in Poland of a trade union, a "self-administering" trade union but a trade union for all that: A trade union that recognizes the PZPR's leading role in society. Not some sort of "social movement" carrying out political activity completely, qualitatively different from trade union activity.

The Price of Jan Rulewski's Bruise

The only force that has today seriously assumed responsibility for the situation in the country, for the dramatic present and the equally difficult future of its economy, for a constructive way out and for extricating the country from so serious a crisis is the Polish United Workers Party.

The party has offered open, honest partnership in the quest for ways of getting out of the crisis and renewing the country to all truly patriotic, sober-minded, humanist forces concerned about the fate of the country and the people and sincerely interested in Poland's socialist renewal.

"I ASK FOR 3 WORKING MONTHS, 90 DAYS OF CALM," ARMY GEN W. JARUZELSKI, CHAIRMAN OF THE POLISH COUNCIL OF MINISTERS, SAID IN FEBRUARY AT A SEJM SESSION. "WE WANT TO USE THIS TIME TO SORT OUT OUR ECONOMY'S MOST FUNDAMENTAL PROBLEMS, TO CONSIDER POSITIVE AND NEGATIVE FACTORS, TO TAKE THE MOST URGENT MEASURES AND TO DETERMINE AND START IMPLEMENTING A PROGRAM FOR STABILIZING THE ECONOMY AND ALSO A FAR-REACHING ECONOMIC REFORM."

General Jaruzelski's precise and businesslike speech was attentively listened to by the whole country and made a profound and strong beneficial impression on Poland.

But forces immediately emerged which continued their destructive work with still greater frenzy. And a firm guiding hand could be sensed behind the seeming outward spontaneity.

It was this psychological war which, perhaps, more than anything else, revealed the true, secret aims of the opponents of socialism in Poland, who were perfectly aware that constructive, day-to-day, genuine trade union work, organizing economic life in the country, would uncover their true face.

BUT WHAT DID JAN RULEWSKI CARE ABOUT THOSE 90 TRANQUIL DAYS WHICH WOULD UNDOUBTEDLY ASSIST THE ECONOMIC AND POLITICAL STABILIZATION OF SOCIALISM IN POLAND?

IN HIS YOUTH HE WAS EXPELLED FROM THE MILITARY-TECHNICAL ACADEMY AND REDUCED TO THE TANKS, HE DESERTED FROM THE ARMY AND TRIED TO FLEE ABROAD: HE WAS CAUGHT AND CONVICTED AND SPENT 4 YEARS IN JAIL. IT WAS THIS HYSTERICAL, UNBALANCED MAN, WHO HATES SOCIALISM AND WHO WAS CARRIED AWAY ON THE HEAVING WAVES OF AUGUST 1980, WHOM SOLIDARITY EXTREMISTS GAVE THE ROLE OF "FACEMAN" OF THE WELL-KNOWN EVENTS IN BYDGOSZCZ WHICH BROUGHT THE COUNTRY LITERALLY TO THE BRINK OF ECONOMIC AND POLITICAL DISASTER.

I will not go into the details of these events, which have already been talked about in our press, or into the origin of Jan Rulewski's bruises, which brought about a "warning" strike and almost turned into a general strike in Poland.

I will just say that on scrutinizing Jan Rulewski's smug face, shown in closeup on television from the hospital, and the swelling beneath his eye I was wondering not about the provenance of the swelling, which had anyway appeared for reasons which are unclear and can only be guessed. Alarmed and perplexed, I was thinking of something else; could that swelling beneath Rulewski's eye have cost Poland such a tremendous price--Z4.2 billion for a 4-hour "warning" strike?

One cannot help being astonished by the undisciplined, wild and aggressive behavior of Rulewski's friends and patrons.

In some places a "record" has already been compiled of the local party aktiv, leading enterprise personnel and also militia and security organs staff--not, I think, to ensure their "physical inviolability." When you see the hundreds and thousands of leaflets distributed and pinned up all over Warsaw against the organs for the protection of public order, carrying vicious caricatures and threatening inscriptions, when you hear the stories of marks on the doors of communists' houses, you realize that they are not about bruises....

It is impossible to understand the connection between Jan Rulewski's black eye and the dramatic events which shook Poland actually during our visit without considering the political "amok" which the extremists use to keep the country in a state of tension.

THE SOLIDARITY LEADERSHIP EXTREMISTS TOOK ADVANTAGE OF THIS BY AND LARGE TRIVIAL INCIDENT AND DID ALL THEY COULD TO BRING POLAND TO THE VERY BRINK OF DISASTER, TO THE BRINK OF A GENERAL STRIKE, AND WHEN NOTHING CAME OF IT THEY RAINED DOWN ATTACKS NOT ONLY ON THE PARTY BUT ALSO ON THEIR SOLIDARITY COLLEAGUES WHO HAD SHOWN PRUDENCE AND AGREED TO TALKS WITH THE GOVERNMENT TO PREVENT A STRIKE.

It was perhaps the first time since August 1980 that the high-handed adventurists, by confronting Poland with the danger of a general strike, with catastrophic, unpredictable consequences for the country, had so clearly and distinctly revealed to the Polish working masses and sober-minded forces in Solidarity their true face.

Even Walesa called them people "who are unable to do ordinary, daily work but are liable at any moment to bring about open confrontation." In an interview for Polish television he said, unable to conceal his exasperation: "Some members of the National Consultative Commission have lost touch with their voters and are expressing at sessions... their own opinion, not the opinion of their voters. These last 6 months some Solidarity figures have forgotten that they were once workers. Before they take any decisions they must go back among the masses and find out what the workers are thinking. You must know when to stop. We cannot destroy each other, but that is what we are doing by resorting to strikes."

As you can see, even in the Solidarity leadership, which is largely made up of KSS people, there are people who cannot help lending an ear to the tense and menacing, but inquisitive and sometimes perplexed silence with which the ordinary members of Solidarity observe the dangerous politicking of those who have usurped the role of "workers' leaders." They are coming to realize that the aggressive antisocialist forces are leading Poland nowhere.

But what are these sinister forces in reality, in actuality? Or to be more specific: What is KSS?

"Don't Confuse KSS With Solidarity"

LET US START WITH A DOCUMENT. THE WARSAW PZPR COMMITTEE 20 MARCH BULLETIN CONTAINS AN ABRIDGED REPRINT OF AN ARTICLE BY DOCTOR SKONKA, MEMBER OF THE LOWER SILESIA FREE TRADE UNIONS FOUNDING COMMITTEE. IT WAS PUBLISHED IN THE THIRD ISSUE OF THE ILLEGAL JOURNAL (THERE IS A MULTITUDE OF THEM IN POLAND TODAY) FREE TRADE UNIONS.

"DON'T CONFUSE KSS WITH SOLIDARITY!" THE AUTHOR OF THE ARTICLE PROCLAIMS.

SKONKA'S ARTICLE IS INTERESTING IN THAT IT REVEALS WHAT CAUSED HIM AND MANY OTHER ACTIVISTS TO BREAK WITH SOLIDARITY, WHAT WERE THE REASONS?

"VERY OFTEN," L. SKONKA STATES, "VARIOUS ADVENTURIST ACTS ARE ASCRIBED TO SOLIDARITY, acts perpetrated beneath its banner. There is no need to come out against the obvious facts which everyone knows and understands, but, at the end of the day, it is necessary to point out the true culprits and the machinery behind the adventurism. It is necessary because it is a mistake, one which harms many ordinary trade union members, to ascribe to Solidarity as a whole all those negative acts which plainly discredit it...."

EXTREMELY IMPORTANT EVIDENCE WHICH EXPLAINS A GREAT DEAL ABOUT THE COMPLICATED STRUGGLE CURRENTLY DEVELOPING IN POLAND AMONG SOCIOPOLITICAL FORCES.

Translated from Polish, KOR means Workers Defense Committee; it subsequently changed its name to KSS.

This "committee" is merely the visible part of those rightwing antisocialist forces who are operating in Poland today and who are organized, if you like, according to the principle of the Russian matreshka, in which each successive sphere contains another, hidden sphere. Perhaps KSS's deepest secret, which is particularly well guarded but which more and more people in Poland are nevertheless learning, is the history of its emergence and organization. KSS was set up a long way from Poland's frontiers, in Switzerland, where an assemblage of "dissident" groupings from the socialist countries took place in the fall of 1975. The setting up of KSS by the "dissidents" was sanctioned by NATO special services.

This conspiratorial, radical rightwing, that is, counterrevolutionary organization, organized abroad and introduced into Poland, immediately donned radical leftwing, Trotskiyist-anarchist garb. It is known in Poland that even as a youth Kuron, who aspired to the role of ideological "leader" of KSS, idolized Trotskiy with his theory of "permanent" revolution. The Trotskiyist Union of Young Rebels and, somewhat later, the "open letter to the party," which Kuron wrote from obviously Trotskiyist positions in collaboration with former Solidarity press spokesman K. Modzelewski, constituted the ideological genesis of the grouping which is trying to implement "creeping" counter-revolution in Poland. These people based their anti-socialist activity on Trotskiyist, anarchosyndicalist ideas, "leftist" in their outward form of expression and methods of implementation, which fully accord with Lenin's rule: "If you go to the left you arrive at the right."

From the very start KSS and the antipopular, antipatriotic forces backing it looked abroad, above all to U.S. and NATO special services.

THE PAPER ZOLNIERZ WOLNOSCI, IN AN ARTICLE ON 25 MARCH ENTITLED "THE ADVANCED BRIDGEHEAD," TOLD ITS READERS ABOUT KSS'S MAIN GUARDIANS IN THE WEST. IN ADDITION TO THE AFL-CIO, THE CONFEDERATION OF FREE TRADE UNIONS AND OTHER WESTERN TRADE UNION ORGANIZATIONS, PRIMARILY THOSE WHICH GET ATTENTION FROM THE CIA AND OTHER SPECIAL SERVICES, KSS'S GUARDIANS INCLUDE, THE PAPER REPORTS, DISCREDITED ORGANIZATIONS SUCH AS THE ASSEMBLY OF ENSLAVED EUROPEAN PEOPLES, WHICH APPEARED DURING THE COLD WAR, THE VERY WELL-KNOWN ANTI-POLISH SABOTAGE CENTER IN PARIS AND THE LONDON SABOTAGE CENTER, HEADED BY THE EMIGRE PUPPET GOVERNMENT. KSS ALSO HAS CLOSE TIES WITH OTHER ANTICOMMUNIST AND ANTI-POLISH ORGANIZATIONS. TRYBUNA LUDU WRITES THAT "MANY TRACES INDICATING KSS TIES WITH LEFTIST GROUPS IN THE WEST LEAD TO THE FRG, IN PARTICULAR TO MAOIST GROUPINGS KNOWN TO HAVE TIES WITH TERRORIST ORGANIZATIONS."

AUSTRIA'S DIE VOLKSSTIMME PUBLISHED AN ARTICLE ON 14 APRIL UNDER THE HEADLINE "A GENTLEMEN CALLED MICHNIK" IN WHICH IT REVEALED THE TIES BETWEEN THIS "GENTLEMAN," MAKING HIS FIRST TOUR OF WESTERN EUROPE "TO DRUM UP ASSISTANCE FOR POLAND," AND NEOFASCISTS IN THE FRG AS WELL AS PEOPLE CLOSE TO THE IL MANIFESTO GROUPING, WHICH "HAS MADE ITS POLITICAL MARK," DIE VOLKSSTIMME WRITES, "BY FLIRTING WITH ITALIAN TERRORISTS...."

INTERESTING IN THIS CONNECTION IS KURON'S STATEMENT IN AN INTERVIEW FOR LE MONDE IN JANUARY 1981: "...IF WE APPEAL FOR MODERATION AND READSON IT IS NOT BECAUSE WE ARE AGAINST THE RADICAL HOPES OF A SOCIETY WHICH WANTS TO RULE ITS OWN DESTINY. BUT, TAKING INTO ACCOUNT THE CIRCUMSTANCES, THESE HOPES CAN ONLY BE REALIZED GRADUALLY." HOWEVER, KURON CONTINUED, IT IS NECESSARY TO "LAY DOWN THE CONDITIONS WHICH WILL ONE DAY MAKE THE IMMEDIATE REALIZATION OF THESE RADICAL HOPES POSSIBLE."

ALMOST ALL THE FUTURE SOLIDARITY ACTIVISTS AND LEADERS, INCLUDING A. WALENTINOWICZ, B. BORUSIEWICZ, B. LIS, K. SWITON AND OTHERS WENT ON KSS'S SO-CALLED "SOCIAL WORK COURSES." KSS WAS SOLIDARITY'S MAIN SUPPLIER OF VARIOUS "EXPERTS" AND "SPECIALISTS" FROM AMONG THE SO-CALLED "INTELLECTUALS," THAT IS, IDEOLOGISTS AND LEADERS.

"BY THE TIME SOME MEMBERS OF THE TRADE UNION AKTIV, ESPECIALLY AT ENTERPRISES, HAD GRASPED THE SITUATION," L. SKONKA SAYS IN HIS ARTICLE, "KSS WAS ALREADY DEEPLY ENTRENCHED IN THE TRADE UNION AND HELD TOTAL SWAY. IT HAD COMPLETE CHARGE OF THE THREE BIG TRADE UNION CENTERS--IN GDANSK, WROCLAW AND WARSAW--AND, BY INFILTRATING THE NATIONAL CONSULTATIVE COMMISSION AND THE ENTIRE PROPAGANDA SYSTEM AND PUBLISHING HOUSES IN MANY PARTS OF THE COUNTRY, KSS PRACTICALLY RULED THE WHOLE OF SOLIDARITY.

"THE TRADE UNION IS RUN NOT BY WALESA," L. SKONKA MAINTAINS, "BUT BY KURON, MODZELEWSKI, MICHNIK, MACIEREWICZ, BORUSZEWICZ, WUJEC, OPYSZKIEWICZ, LITYNSKI, BLUMSZTAJN, TERNBERGOWA, (GLYAYKHGEVIKHT), KECIK AND OTHER KSS PEOPLE AND ALSO THEIR SUPPORTERS.

THOSE WHOM KSS "FAILED TO ATTRACT WITH PROMISES OF EASY JOBS IN A FUTURE GOVERNMENT (REALLY!--F. KUZNETSOV) WERE EITHER BOUGHT OFF OR EXPELLED ON VARIOUS FALSE PRETEXTS MORE OFTEN THAN NOT THEY WERE ACCUSED OF COLLABORATING WITH THE SECURITY SERVICES OR OF SECRETLY BELONGING TO THE PZPR. AT THE SAME TIME--ACCORDING TO THE EVIDENCE OF A FORMER SOLIDARITY FIGURE--AN ATMOSPHERE OF FEAR, TERROR, SUSPICION AND GENERAL AND TOTAL DANGER WAS CREATED, BASED ON NO ONE TRUSTING ANYONE AND EVERYONE WATCHING EVERYONE ELSE, WITH EVEN THE SLIGHTEST SUSPICION BEING REPORTED TO THE PEOPLE IN THE SPECIAL POSITION OF LOCAL KSS FUEHRER."

DESCRIBING IN DETAIL THE MONSTROUS ATMOSPHERE IMPOSED BY KSS ON MANY COMPONENTS OF SOLIDARITY, AN ATMOSPHERE OF TERROR AND THREATS, L. SKONKA SAID THAT KSS PEOPLE WERE ALSO USING THEIR "GANGSTER METHODS" OUTSIDE SOLIDARITY. "IT IS THEY WHO SLANDER THE OBSTINATE, FALSIFY FACTS, BRIBE, DISCREDIT AND BLACKMAIL PEOPLE WHOM THEY REGARD AS NUISANCES, AND NOT SOLIDARITY, WHICH IS MERELY AN INSTRUMENT IN THEIR HANDS AND AN UMBRELLA. IT IS THE KSS PEOPLE WHO TRY TO INFILTRATE INTO SOLIDARITY'S LEADING ORGANS, PEOPLE WITH LOW MORAL QUALITIES AND VARIOUS RIFFRAFF WHO WOULD DO ANYTHING FOR MONEY OR FOR THE ILLUSION OF POSSESSING POWER IN THE FUTURE."

L. Skonka talked in detail about KSS' adventurist dream of seizing political power in Poland.

"EVEN NOW KSS IS PROMISING ALL ITS ACTIVE SUPPORTERS POSTS AS MINISTERS, RECTORS, AMBASSADORS, DIRECTORS AND VOIVODES, DEPUTIES' MANDATES AND MONEY.

"IF VIEWED FROM AFAR IT MIGHT SEEM NAIVE AND GROTESQUE; BUT FROM CLOSE QUARTERS IT SEEMS PERFECTLY CONVINCING AND AUTHENTIC, ESPECIALLY AS KSS BELIEVES IT A MATTER OF DAYS NOT MONTHS OR YEARS BEFORE IT COMES TO POWER. THAT IS WHY MANY TRADE UNION ACTIVISTS ARE DEEPLY CONVINCED THAT THANKS TO KSS THEY WILL BE ABLE TO ALTER THEIR DESTINY AND CEASE TO BE DRIVERS, FITTERS AND MODEST OFFICIALS--IN SHORT, ORDINARY PEOPLE--AND BECOME 'EXCELLENCIES.' THAT IS WHY THEY SUPPORT THIS POLITICAL GROUP SO ZEALOUSLY AND UNTHINKINGLY....."

HOWEVER, IT IS CLEAR TO L. SKONKA, AS IT IS TO MANY OTHER PEOPLE, WHAT SUCH AN ADVENTURE WOULD MEAN FOR THE POLE: ABOVE ALL, RUTHLESS KSS TOTALITARIANISM. AND THE FIRST VICTIM OF THE "KSSITES'" TOTALITARIANISM WOULD BE THE TRADE UNIONS, WHICH "THEY WOULD 'NEUTRALIZE' IN SUCH A WAY THAT WORKING PEOPLE WOULD GIVE HEARTFELT SIGHS WHEN THEY RECALLED THE 'OLD' TRADE UNIONS."

"I MAKE THAT CLAIM," L. SKONKA WRITES, "ON THE BASIS OF MANY YEARS' FAMILIARITY WITH THE ACTIVITY OF KSS, WHOSE DESPOTIC, POLICE METHODS I HAVE EXPOSED OVER THE COURSE OF MANY YEARS' WORK....

That is exceptionally eloquent testimony "from the inside," from a recent "Solidarity activist and figure. That sort of testimony is a help in understanding the seriousness of what is happening.

The tactics of "creeping" counterrevolution have been revealed by A. Michnik, one of the KSS leaders: The government "gives way only when a pistol is being held at its head. So it is periodically necessary to hold the pistol." So KSS, manipulating Solidarity, is "holding" at "the government's head" a pistol in the shape of endless strikes and confrontations and particular demogagoic demands.

Devils

It is said that there is no mystery in the world that will not become clear in time. The profoundly secret KSS program, which is carefully concealed in Poland, has been published in the Italian press. The program sheds a peculiar and vivid light on much that is happening in Poland today.

ABOVE ALL, ON THE ROLE OF KSS IN FUELING THE CRISIS, WHICH, IN THE VIEW OF THE ORGANIZATION'S RINGLEADERS, IS A "NECESSARY CONDITION FOR THE CONTINUATION OF THE STRUGGLE AGAINST THE CURRENT REGIME. ANY NEW DETERIORATION IN THE ECONOMIC SITUATION CREATES FAVORABLE CONDITIONS MAKING IT POSSIBLE TO PRESSURE THE PARTY LEADERSHIP AND THE GOVERNMENT; THE DETERIORATION WILL UNDERMINE THE REGIME AND EVENTUALLY ISOLATE IT FROM THE MASSES." IN DETERMINING ITS TACTICAL GOALS, KSS PROCEEDS FROM THE PRINCIPLE THAT "ECONOMIC CRISIS ENSURES POLITICAL SUCCESS."

THE PROGRAM DIVIDES ALL KSS' ACTIVITY INTO THREE STAGES.

THE MAIN AIM OF THE FIRST STAGE (I AM QUOTING FROM ITALIAN SOURCES) IS TO "TRANSFORM THE SOLIDARITY TRADE UNION INTO KSS' MAIN BASE, TO SUBJECT IT TO THE COMMITTEE'S INFLUENCE, TO LEND A POLITICAL CHARACTER TO THE TRADE UNION'S ACTIVITY AND TO TRANSFORM THE SOLIDARITY TRADE UNION INTO A REAL FORCE IN OPPOSITION TO THE GOVERNMENT." DURING THIS STAGE KSS ITSELF IS TO REMAIN "IN THE SHADOWS, LEADING THE SOLIDARITY TRADE UNION'S ACTIVITY FROM WITHIN VIA SECRET AGENTS WHO HAVE INFILTRATED THE TRADE UNION.... SPECIAL GROUPS OF SECRET KSS MEMBERS ARE TO BE CREATED IN THE BIGGEST INDUSTRIAL ENTERPRISES. THESE GROUPS WILL BE THE MAIN ORGANIZERS OF STRIKES AND ALL OTHER FORMS OF ANTIGOVERNMENT ACTIVITY."

THE PROGRAM GIVES THE CHARACTERISTIC STRUCTURE OF KSS WHICH CONSISTS "OF OFFICIAL AND UNOFFICIAL MEMBERS CAREFULLY DISGUISED. THE LATTER ARE TO PENETRATE THE RANKS OF TRADE UNIONS AND ORGANS OF THE STATE, PARTY AND JUDICIARY"; "WELL DISGUISED KSS MEMBERS ARE TO JOIN SPECIAL GROUPS WHICH CAN BE USED IN EXTRAORDINARY CASES," THAT IS, WHEN IT IS REQUIRED TO RESORT OPENLY TO VIOLENCE--TO ACTS OF SABOTAGE, SUBVERSION AND TERRORISM.

THE PZPR IS DIRECTLY NOMINATED IN THE PROGRAM AS KSS' MAIN OPPONENT. "IF THE SITUATION STABILIZES THE PZPR'S POSITION WILL BE STRENGTHENED. THIS IS WHY KSS INTENDS TO MAINTAIN THE INSTABILITY IN THE COUNTRY, CREATE DIFFICULTIES IN THE PZPR'S ACTIVITY AND HINDER THE CONDUCT OF ITS POLICY, THUS FORCING THE PZPR TO BE ON THE DEFENSIVE ALL THE TIME.... BY THIS MEANS KSS IS TRYING TO PROVOKE A SPLIT IN PZPR RANKS AND IN THE STATE APPARATUS, COMPROMISING CERTAIN POLITICIANS AND DEMANDING THAT THEY BE REMOVED SO AS TO WEAKEN THE AUTHORITIES AS MUCH AS POSSIBLE AT A GIVEN MOMENT, WHEN KSS WILL BE ABLE TO RESORT TO BROADER AND MORE VIOLENT MEASURES."

THE PROGRAM'S SECOND STAGE, OUTLINED, AS IT SAYS IN IT, FOR 1981-83, IS IN KSS' OPINION "DECISIVE" AND "IS TO PROVIDE THE CONDITIONS WHICH WILL MAKE IT POSSIBLE TO TRANSFER TO THE THIRD STAGE, WHEN A REGIME WILL BE SET UP SIMILAR TO THAT WHICH EXISTED IN POLAND BEFORE 1939. IN THIS STAGE KSS' MAIN FORCES WILL TRY TO WEAKEN AND SPLIT THE PZPR." TO ACHIEVE THIS, A WHOLE PROGRAM OF ACTIVITY HAS BEEN DRAWN UP WHICH INCLUDES TRANSFORMING THE SOLIDARITY TRADE UNION INTO AN INDEPENDENT POLITICAL ORGANIZATION; LIMITING THE ROLE AND, IF NECESSARY, EVEN ELIMINATING LECH WALESA WHO HAS "FALLEN UNDER THE INFLUENCE OF CARDINAL WYSZYNSKI AND OCCUPIES A CENTRIST POSITION"; SUPPORTING "TENSION AND CONSTANT UNCERTAINTY" IN THE COUNTRY, ADVANCING "MORE AND MORE NEW DEMANDS, INCLUDING POLITICAL DEMANDS"; THE "NEUTRALIZATION" AND "DEMORALIZATION" OF THE ARMY AND SO FORTH.

PLANNED AS A PARTICULARLY IMPORTANT TASK OF THE SECOND STAGE IS "THE HOLDING OF KEY POSTS IN THE MASS MEDIA" BY MEANS OF THE INCREASINGLY WIDE USE OF "KSS MEMBERS AND THEIR SUPPORTERS WORKING IN THE INFORMATION ORGANS."

AS FOR THE THIRD STAGE, THIS WAS SPOKEN OF WITH THE UTMOST BREVITY AND CLARITY: "THE FINAL AIM OF KSS' ACTIVITY IN THIS STAGE IS TO SEIZE POWER."

This is not a program; these are the rules of an extreme rightwing totalitarian-terrorist organization: Here it is, a practical answer to all the unbelieving and doubting Thomases in Poland who make surprised, round, naive and innocent eyes when the real danger of counterrevolution is mentioned.

Even this most frank program by no means says everything or takes it to its end. It ignores KSS's main, ultimate aim of fierce anti-Sovietism and the counterrevolutionaries' desire not only to destroy socialism in Poland but also to tear the latter from the socialist community, to shatter the Warsaw Pact and thereby to upset the equilibrium in Europe, placing the world on the brink of the threat of thermonuclear war.

And there is one further point of which the KSS program does not speak: the morality or, more precisely, the fundamental amorality of this little group, which operates according to the well-tried principle that the ends justify the means. The aforementioned article of Doctor Skonka recounted the paths for achieving these antisocialist, antipopular aims and the atmosphere of "total permissiveness" [vsedozvolennost], dishonor, slander and aggressive intolerance. Without this that hoaxing and deception of the Polish public and Polish working class and, primarily, of the rank and file members of the Solidarity trade union which is enveloping their souls in a stifling smog and a political "amok" would be impossible.

This little group's secret and close link with world terrorism in its left-Trotskiyist or right-fascist versions--they are one and the same--could not fail to leave its repugnant mark on KSS. To quote Dostoyevskiy, these are the real "devils" whose ideological and spiritual heirs we encounter in abundance now both in the West and in the East.

These KSS "Pluralists"

It is very fashionable in Poland nowadays to talk of "pluralism," that is, of the existence in Polish society of the most diverse sociopolitical and ideological structures. And once again it is KSS, that lover of limitless democracy, which campaigns loudest of all for "pluralism"!

In the press articles have been appearing which allegedly prove directly that under Poland's conditions the very "pluralist sociopolitical model of Polish society is acceptable and historically validated" (the article "Pluralism" in POLITYKA of 23 February). The author of this article sees one of the main achievements in the fact that "pluralist tendencies have intensified considerably in the party in the last 23 years. In 1956 we managed to resolve one of the main tasks--to eliminate socialist realism in cultural life, to introduce private ownership into the socialist structure of the countryside and to expand considerably the sphere of the socialist state's coexistence with the church. After 1975, the article's author continues, the organs of power showed greater indulgence toward all kinds of illegal publications and to various kinds of initiatives distinguished by an opposition character. All this indicated an evolution toward pluralism, that is, the goal toward which the Polish system in Poland is striving."

However, the so-called "pluralism," cordially receiving those "initiatives distinguished by an opposition character" is most maliciously intolerant of any "alternative thinking" and of anything which is not in accord with the interests of the authors of the "pluralist" concept.

The supporters of "pluralism" are now demanding the elimination from Poland's cultural life not only of "socialist realism" but, essentially, of all "official" Polish literature, that is, literature engendered by socialism and people's power. They would like to leave the Polish people with only those works which saw the light on the pages of "illegal," that is, antisocialist publications.

The lovers of "pluralism," "democracy" and "freedom" showed themselves fully at the recent extraordinary congress of Polish writers where the former, for the sake of achieving their narrow group aims, subjected the senior Polish communist-writer Jerzy Putrament to pitiless obstruction, as we have been told, effectively not letting him speak and forcing him to leave the rostrum by noise and hooligan shouting. This "style" of intolerance, anarchy and diktat is extraordinarily typical in Poland nowadays of those very people who campaign loudest of all for "pluralism," "freedom" and "democracy."

ADDRESSING A WARSAW PZPR COMMITTEE PLENUM, THE WRITER ANDRZEJ WASILEWSKI GAVE A PENETRATINGLY ACCURATE CHARACTER PORTRAIT OF THESE FORCES. AFTER SHOWING THAT THE EXTREME RIGHTWING FORCES ARE HIDING THEIR TRUE INTENTIONS BEHIND LEFTIST PHRASEOLOGY, RIGHTWING FORCES IN WHOSE METHODS OF ACTION CAN BE SEEN "FEATURES TYPICAL OF REACTIONARY RIGHTWING GROUPINGS, THROUGHOUT THE WORLD," HE SAID: "IT IS TRUE THAT THEIR METHODS ARE RADICAL, BUT HISTORY KNOWS OF QUITE A FEW EXAMPLES OF THE RADICALISM OF EXTREME RIGHTWINGERS WHO FOR A CERTAIN TIME SUCCEEDED IN DISORIENTING THE WORKING PEOPLE."

SUCH IS THE POLITICAL, CLASS ENEMY IN POLAND TODAY, CULTIVATING IN SOCIETY THE "METHODS OF TERROR, INTOLERANCE, HATRED AND THE NEED FOR OBEDIENCE" AND APPROVING "ACTIONS WHICH BEAR A MAFIA STAMP."

A. WASILEWSKI EVALUATES THESE SINISTER FORCES AS "A GROUPING OF ALMOST TOTALITARIAN CHARACTER AND PROFOUNDLY ANTIDEMOCRATIC STRUCTURE, ENTREATING BY ALL POSSIBLE MEANS FOR UNCONDITIONAL SUBORDINATION TO ITS DICTATORIAL COMMANDS, PERSECUTING OTHER PEOPLE FOR THEIR CONVICTIONS AND OPERATED BY CONCEALED, CODENAMED GROUPS. IT DEMANDS FREEDOM OF EXPRESSION FOR VARIOUS VIEWS BUT IS ITSELF EXTREMELY INTOLERANT. IT DEMANDS THAT PUBLIC LIFE BE PUBLICIZED BUT KEEPS ITS AFFAIRS AS SECRET AS POSSIBLE. IT DEMANDS COMPLETE AND TRUTHFUL INFORMATION, BUT THERE IS NO RESTRAINT ON THE FABRICATIONS OF FALSE AND MISINFORMING MATERIALS, PUBLISHED ON A MASS SCALE, WHICH DELIBERATELY MANIPULATE SOCIETY'S FEELINGS. THESE METHODS ARE TYPICAL OF GROUPS WHICH CONCEAL THEIR GENUINE AIMS, AND THE CONCEALMENT OF AIMS IS INDEED A FEATURE OF REACTIONARY RIGHTWING GROUPINGS. PROGRESSIVE FORCES HAVE NOTHING TO HIDE BECAUSE THEY DO NOT INTEND DECEIVING ANYONE. THUS THEY ACT OPENLY."

THE COMMUNISTS' STRUGGLE AGAINST THESE OPPONENTS IS VERY DIFFICULT. ALL THE MORE SO, A. WASILEWSKI STRESSES, SINCE THE RIGHTWING FORCES SKILLFULLY ADAPT TO CHANGING CIRCUMSTANCES AND ALTER THEIR TACTICS IN THIS STRUGGLE FLEXIBLY. IN A. WASILEWSKI'S OPINION, THE RIGHTWING FORCES ARE BEGINNING TO GRASP "THAT FOMENTING STRIKES IN THE PRESENT SITUATION WOULD BE CONTRARY TO SOCIETY'S FEELINGS." THEY ARE BEGINNING TO FEAR BEING RESPONSIBLE TO PEOPLE "FOR THE EMPTY STORES, THE ANARCHY IN PRODUCTION AND THE ENTERPRISES STANDING IDLE."

A. WASILEWSKI ASSERTS THAT THIS IS WHY THE RIGHTWING FORCES ARE "NOW SWITCHING" THEIR DESTRUCTIVE ACTIONS TO AN INCREASING DEGREE "TO THOSE SPHERES WHERE ANARCHY WILL NOT CAUSE SUCH A DEGREE OF HOSTILITY ON THE PUBLIC'S PART, SINCE IT WILL NOT REFLECT DIRECTLY ON THE GROWTH OF THE DIFFICULTIES OF LIFE. THESE SPHERES ARE EDUCATION, SCIENCE, CREATIVE AND STUDENT CIRCLES, THE PRESS, THE MASS MEDIA.... THE CALM WHICH WILL ENSUE AT PLANTS AND INDUSTRIAL ENTERPRISES WILL POSSIBLY OCCUR AT THE EXPENSE OF AN INTENSIFCATION OF UNREST IN THOSE SPHERES WHERE THE STRUGGLE IS BEING WAGED FOR PUBLIC OPINION, FOR AWARENESS, FOR EDUCATION, FOR ESSENTIAL SPIRITUAL NOURISHMENT."

However, these forces are now primarily trying to wage the struggle--via waverers--within the party itself.

When visiting Poland we saw the firmness of genuine, true communists and their determination to go forward to victory in this difficult, largely new and unfamiliar class struggle, unprecedented in its political forms. Many communists in Poland now believe that considerable political reserves are being wasted at the heart of the party and primarily within its primary organizations.

AS COMRADE STANISLAW KANIA SAID AT THE 10TH PZPR CENTRAL COMMITTEE PLENUM, THE TIMES DEMAND COMMUNISTS' "SELFLESSNESS IN THE STRUGGLE AGAINST ALIEN VIEWS" SO AS "TO EXPOSE THE TRUE INTENTIONS OF THE PEOPLE'S VARIOUS 'FRIENDS' WHO ARE IN FACT SOCIALISM'S INVETERATE ENEMIES."

HE CONTINUED: "FOR MANY MONTHS NOW WE HAVE BEEN MOVING ALONG THE PATH OF SOLVING THE URGENT CRISIS BY POLITICAL MEANS. WE HAVE BEEN MOVINGLY CONVINCED THAT WE CAN PUT INTO MOTION A SUFFICIENT NUMBER OF FORCES TO MEET OUR REQUIREMENTS."

"THIS MEANS RESTORING SOCIETY'S CONFIDENCE IN THE POLICY OF THE PARTY AND THE GOVERNMENT, DEVELOPING DEMOCRACY, COMBINED WITH RESPECT FOR THE LAWS AND THE STRENGTHENING OF PUBLIC DISCIPLINE, RESTORING A NORMAL ECONOMIC RHYTHM, ERADICATING ANARCHY, ISOLATING SOCIALISM'S ENEMIES FROM INFLUENCE ON SOCIETY AND CREATING A UNION OF ALL THE FORCES OF REASON AND CIVIC RESPONSIBILITY FOR THE COUNTRY....

"EVERYTHING IS HAPPENING NOW WITHOUT WEAPONS, NO ONE IS DYING, NO SHOOTING IS HEARD. ALL SOCIALISM'S ENEMIES ARE PINNING THEIR HOPES ON THE CRISIS. THEY WANT TO USE PUBLIC DISCONTENT AT THE RESULTS OF MISTAKES AS A WEAPON TO AIM AT THE BASES OF SOCIALISM... WE WANT TO OVERCOME OUR DIFFICULTIES BUT THEY ARE STRIVING TO TAKE ADVANTAGE OF THEM, AND THIS IS WHERE THE DIVIDING LINE OCCURS....

"WE ARE DOING OUR UTMOST TO MAINTAIN AND CONSOLIDATE SOCIALISM IN POLAND. WE WILL NOT LET ANYONE ENCROACH ON THE FOUNDATION WHICH SUPPORTS THE ALLIANCE WITH THE SOVIET LAND AND WITH ALL THE SOCIALIST COMMUNIST STATES. THIS IS THE PATRIOTIC AND INTERNATIONALIST DUTY OF THE PZPR AND ALL ITS MEMBERS."

Poland's communists derive their strength from the struggle for socialism, from a sense of love for their motherland, from an historic responsibility to their people and from the unity and cohesion of the socialist camp. They are helped by L.I. Brezhnev's remarkable words at the 26th CPSU Congress: "...Polish communists, the Polish working class and the working people of that country can rely firmly on their friends and allies; we will not leave socialist Poland, fraternal Poland in trouble or allow it to be insulted."

DRUZENKO COMMENTS ON SOLIDARITY'S ACTIVITIES

Workers Interviewed

LD200827 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 13 May 81 Morning Edition p 5

[Correspondent A. Druzenko: "Reportage from Warsaw": "Plain Speaking"]

[Text] Time of conversation--Spring 1981. Place--Warsaw pump plant. Subject.... However, before broaching this it is probably worthwhile becoming better acquainted with the the "interlocutor."

The history of the plant, which is named for Boleslaw Kowalski, a hero of the Armia Ludowa [People's Army--World War II Polish Resistance Movement]; goes back more than 70 years. It changed its address several times during that period, before finally settling in the capital's industrial district of Zeran, on Odlewnicza Street.

The plant makes pumps, as it did many years ago. There are few pumps this enterprise does not produce (it makes 14 kinds in 1,000 standard sizes, ranging from "babies" weighing a few hundred kilograms to 75-ton monsters); there is hardly a sector that does not use its products--they are "everywhere that water has to be pumped."

Even now, in the difficult time through which Poland is living, the enterprise is standing firmly on its feet. At first a comparison even occurred to me: It was as though we were on an island. Indeed, the nonfulfillment of plans and a drop in output for export are typical phenomena in Poland today, but the people here are coping with their targets and looking calmly ahead, explaining that the plant's order book (exports to 70 countries;) is full through 1988. Everywhere people are treating new capital investment with extreme caution--an unpopular topic! But people here say firmly: "We must expand." Cadre changes have occurred recently at many enterprises. But that has not happened here....

And yet the comparison with an island is not valid. The enterprise collective cannot be isolated from everything happening in the country. This, in fact, was the starting point for the journalists' conversation with representatives of the plant's aktiv. Our interlocutors included party activists (one in every four members of the collective is in the PZPR) and representatives of the trade unions Solidarity (two-thirds of the collective) and the metalworkers sector trade union (one-third).

It so happened that a movie devoted to the enterprise proved ready just when we arrived. And we were shown it before the talks started. On the screen life in the plant seemed simply ideal--bright shops, computers, comfortable canteen, modern medical rooms, a magnificent leisure center. The screen dimmed, and silence ensued. Then one of the journaliss asked:

"If all this is really so, what can there be to dislike?..."

And the conversation at once turned to the past, to "the way things were." People spoke with bitterness.

G. Szydlowski, senior foreman: "Whatever we said, however many suggestions we made, it was as though we were knocking against a wall. In the trade union committee, for example, we would speak about production troubles, social and domestic matters, speculation and people who got rich I don't know how. They would hear us out, and that would be as far as it went."

The heated, sharp nature of those words is understandable--that is how people speak about a sore subject. Serious mistakes really were committed, and the party spoke bluntly about them--about violations of the fundamental principles of socialist building, about voluntarism in running the economy, disregard for the Leninist norms of internal party life, underestimation of contradictions in society, the weakening of links with the masses. All that is so. But, you see, a wave of criticism can, as it were, eclipse all white light and make it black. All the good things are frequently forgotten in the heat of the moment, as though they had not existed at all.

As with the movie that we saw. For all that really exists, was built and created by workers' hands--the new shops, the electronics, the orchard and truck garden plots, the polyclinic with new apparatus.... Of course, criticism must help. Only it must not blind.

You sometimes read extensive articles in Polish newspapers or hear commentaries berating the past decade and sometimes even all of Poland's most recent history, and you get the feeling that the authors have willy-nilly forgotten the people's achievements over those years--the capital raised from smoldering ruins, the newly created sectors of industry, the hundreds of thousands of new houses, the roads crossing the length and breadth of the country....

And another thought suggests itself in this connection: Bitterness, dissatisfaction and a craving to punish the guilty persons always accompany a crisis situation. And the party, preparing for its ninth, extraordinary congress, is not avoiding a difficult, self-critical analysis of the mistakes committed. But is it possible to emerge from the crisis if you look only backward all the time?

A. Wojdalski, secretary of the plant's party committee: "Last October, when our plan was under threat of disruption, Solidarity's plant activists participated in resolving the problems which had arisen. Then, when the situation in the country was exacerbated and there was a new wave of strikes, they stepped aside and took up, as it were, the position of observers. But when we began discussing this year's plans, they abandoned that position and engaged once again the plant's affairs. Perhaps relations with the new trade union have evolved differently at other enterprises, but we are pursuing a policy of cooperation not without success."

An important question. It concerns many people in Poland. Which way will Solidarity move? Will it concentrate on real trade union activity, or will the propensity--introduced from outside--for the political game, which frequently assumes the nature of an open struggle for power, gain the upper hand as before? In the lower links, that is, at enterprises, contradictory trends are still manifesting themselves--cooperation, as at the pump plant, antagonism toward management and the sector trade unions, and indifference toward production life.

...I could not help recalling a meeting at the beginning of the year, at the very height of the strike fever at Poznan's Stomil tire plant. The enterprise's workers--they included members of Solidarity--spoke with interest about matters in their own shops and in the whole plant and about how important it was at this difficult time for Poland to work indefatigably, to make better use of raw materials and supplies, to organize labor skillfully and to live for the interests of production. That stance, to put it mildly, in no way tallied with the "theoretical" arguments and practical actions of some Solidarity leaders, who categorically deny any responsibility for what is happening in economic life.

R. Grobowec, designer: "We are now speaking about counterrevolution. And yet there was more of it in 1945, and the workers recognized it and came out decisively against it. Similar elements are also appearing now and are trying to take advantage of the discontent and to channel it in a direction advantageous to themselves. But I believe that these people constitute an insignificant minority. Is it worth exaggerating the significance of such individuals as Moczulski, for example?"

And once again it is hard to refrain from commenting. Whereas in the aforementioned heat of criticism certain people present the recent past exclusively in black paint, it is sometimes possible to notice the opposite with regard to the present day. I believe this is also a kind of blindness. Of course, the majority of people know about the intrigues of counterrevolutionary elements sowing chaos and discord and trying to turn the Solidarity trade union into a political party and to use it as a weapon against the PZPR and the socialist state. But far from everyone is aware of the danger posed by those elements. You sometimes come across a clear underestimation of the antisocialist forces, which, sensing favorable conditions, are increasingly throwing aside all restraint, growing impudent and enjoying the direct support of Western sabotage centers. And underestimation of the enemy, particularly in a situation of crisis and open political struggle, can cost dear....

The PZPR's role and place in stabilizing the situation in the country and in struggling to preserve and augment socialism's gains was one of the leading topics in the conversation.

A. Wojdalski, secretary of the plant's party committee:

"At the end of the year we held elections for the new workers' self-management committee. A party committee secretary remained its chairman. This attests to the collective's confidence in its party organizations."

The plant's communists are now working under difficult conditions, but they are increasingly active. They are profoundly concerned with the problems of strengthening the party's authority and leading role, its militant capacity and cohesion. They are resolutely opposed to everything that threatens the PZPR's unity. Ideologically and organizationally cohesive, decisive, repulsing all antisocialist sallies, closely linked with the masses, reacting sensitively to their needs and following unswervingly the Leninist norms of party life--this is how the plant's communists want to see their party.

Solidarity's Tactics Hit

LD201139 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 19 May 81 Morning Edition p 4

[Correspondent A. Druzenko "Letter From Warsaw": "From Politicking Positions"]

[Text] The greater the distance of time separating us from the well-known events of last summer, which initiated the protracted political crisis in Poland, and the more widely certain elements of the Solidarity trade union develop their activity, the clearer it becomes that extremist figures and advisers from the antisocialist KSS-KOR [Social Self-Defense Committee] organization are turning Solidarity into an openly political organization setting itself aims and tasks that have nothing in common with trade union activity.

Polish newspapers, radio and television are reporting the talks taking place between representatives of the government and of Solidarity both in Warsaw and in other cities. The peculiarity of one external attribute of the talks--it is of considerable importance here--should be noted straightaway. The participants sit at the same table, but they always face each other. And one side--the Solidarity representative--generally puts forward demands. While the other side, representing the local organs of power, is usually on the defensive. People are gradually being brought round to the idea that this sort of confrontation is normal, that there is a "militant" trade union that wants "things to improve" [khochet "kak luchshe"] and there are the authorities, which are unwilling or unable to do this. Some people would clearly like this division into "us"--that is, Solidarity and its supporters--and "them," or in other words the authorities, to become rooted in people's minds, as though the socialist state is not working people's power, recognition of which is enshrined in both the Gdansk agreements and Solidarity's own rules:

As time goes on hopes are fading that the new trade union association will concentrate on the urgent problems of extricating the country from the acute economic crisis. All the indications are that these problems, whose urgency every worker's family is painfully aware of, do not perturb the extremist section of the Solidarity leadership. Quite the reverse. The deepening of the crisis and the maintenance of an atmosphere of tension, uncertainty and chaos are more to their liking. In that sort of atmosphere it is easier to shake the foundations of society. In many people's opinion, the Solidarity "program document," which has been published in the Polish press, is aimed at changing Poland's social and state system.

The explosive situation is helping the extremists to stay on the surface. They are in the public eye, as the saying goes. This is also to their advantage, as an election campaign is underway in the new trade union association.

Something that is striking is the persistence with which the Solidarity leadership is refusing to concentrate on trade union affairs or to assume even part of the responsibility for organizing economic life. This destructive stance can be clearly seen in the trade union association's "program document." It is true that the document contains the words: "We are not ducking the responsibility for the fate of our people and state"; however, it remains essentially an empty declaration. The document upholds the stance of refusing responsibility for production and economic activity. As TRYBUNA LUDU has noted, "the economic section of the 'program' repeats over and over again words such as seek to ensure, demand, control, present a claim. At the same time there is no mention at all of what Solidarity proposes to enshrine in its program to ensure that it takes a specific part in improving the economic situation...."

The Solidarity document, dictated by political ambitions and making no mention of the unalterable fact that the Polish United Workers Party plays the leading role in the development of the Polish socialist society, shows that the trade union association is in practice ducking out of taking part in solving the vital socioeconomic problems that the country is up against.

Improved labor productivity, strengthened discipline in production, the quest for reserves, the organization of a policy of thrift--those are all of little interest to the Solidarity leadership, as practice shows. At the same time the Solidarity representatives are tirelessly demanding the strict fulfillment of the previously signed agreements. However, it is clear that the satisfaction of the demands enshrined in those agreements will cost colossal sums, running into tens and hundreds of billions of zlotys, and these will not simply fall from the heavens. These funds and their material defrayal can be ensured only through highly productive work by every labor collective.

The policy of extremist elements in Solidarity--"take more and give nothing"--is promoting the development of mutually exclusive processes. On the one hand Poland's economy is still in a fever, and industrial output is declining (as is well known, in terms of economic indicators the first quarter of this year was the worst in the entire history of People's Poland). This is inevitably affecting people's living standards and supplies of products and goods that are basic necessities (rationing is covering an increasingly wide range, and forecasts for the future are extremely pessimistic in this respect). On the other hand the number of agreements concluded at various levels and in various connections at Solidarity's insistence is continuing to grow. The constant new demands and agreements--the total number now runs into thousands--merely distract both the government and the working people from what are really the most important tasks which must be solved if there is to be any expectation of surmounting the decline in the economy and returning life to normal.

A characteristic example is the conflict, now in its second month, at the bus depot in the town of Ostrowiec Swietokrzyski. It began on 27 March, the day that Solidarity held a countrywide 4-hour "warning" strike. The bus depot personnel who were members of the sector trade union would not agree to take part in the strike. When on that day a few drivers were taking their buses out, Solidarity representatives posted at the garage entrance tried to detain them. As a result of the sharp clash a conflict flared up. The drivers who were members of the sector trade union were dismissed, at Solidarity's insistence. However, when events began to develop differently from the way Solidarity would have liked, Solidarity used the customary threat of a strike. The labor collective virtually disintegrated and tension arose between workers and even between members of their families.

The account of this conflict in one newspaper ended with the seemingly ironic but extremely bitter conclusion: The best thing, it said, would be to organize two bus depots in the small town--one for the sector trade union, the other for Solidarity....It is clear that in an unfavorable psychological climate where people who work alongside each other or maybe even work different shifts on the same vehicle are estranged and hostile toward each other it is hard to expect productive work to be organized. A split in worker collectives undermines the most basic foundation, which is the unity of the workers movement and working people in a socialist society.

The conflict that developed in the transportation workers' collective in Ostrowiec Swietokrzyski might seem to be local. But the dramatic experience of recent months has shown that a situation has emerged here in Poland in which any local episode may give rise to a chain reaction of tension, chaos and anarchy.

For instance, for several days the small town of Otwock, near Warsaw, was the focus of universal attention and concern. The concern, it must be frankly admitted, was justified: two drunken young people lost heir heads and threw stones at the militia post at the railroad station. They were arrested and taken to the militia premises, but the hooligans did not quiet down. One of the detainees smashed a window and began to shout that he was virtually being tortured (this was sheer fantasy, a provocation). In moments a crowd had gathered; it was growing perceptibly. The most ridiculous rumors began to circulate. At the insistence of Solidarity representatives, the two detainees, in order to placate the crowd, were shown to the gathering and then released.

However even this was no help. Passions were running high. Twice the militia post was set on fire. The first time firemen managed to extinguish the flames. The second time they were simply unable to force their way through the crowd to the fire.

Solidarity in Otwock published a statement about what had happened. The hooligan actions--after all, it was a case of an attack on premises belonging to the service maintaining public order--are mentioned in passing. At the same time the presumptions of misconduct on the part of the militia personnel who detained the hooligans--let me note that the investigation has not yet been completed--are expressed pretty confidently. Moreover, the local solidarity branch deemed it necessary to extend an invitation to everybody who could offer any information regarding abuses by any militia personnel in Otwock.

You cannot call that anything except playing on people's feelings, a pretty dangerous game. How can one help recalling the leaflets carrying cartoons lampooning the organs of public order which solidarity duplicated in huge quantities. What about the "legality" for which the trade union association is militating?

The propaganda campaign unleashed by the new trade union federation with the aim of discrediting the militia organs in driving at the same old thing: Less order, more anarchy, TRYBUNA LUDU's commentary on the "Otwock fire" rightly raises the question: "Will we feel safe if the organs of public order start to duck out of resolute action?"

Solidarity organized a roster of patrols on the streets of Otwock to ensure public order. Once again, the venture was clearly provocative. (It is not superfluous to note that J. Kuron, one of the KSS ringleaders, was sent from Warsaw to give the local Solidarity branch a hand.)

In whose interests is this policy? There can be only one answer: This policy only aggravates the difficulties which Polish working people are experiencing and exacerbates what is already an extremely dangerous situation which the Polish communists are working intensively to normalize.

People's Poland is having a difficult time. In order to surmount the crisis, it is necessary to resolutely oppose those who are seeking to undermine socialism's positions in the country, and to rally society's patriotic forces and all who value the socialist gains and ideals. The Polish communist Party and the Government of the People's Republic are steering a course toward such a rallying of forces. It is on their activity aimed at political and economic stabilization that Poland's working class and working people are pinning their hopes.

CYPRUS TRADE MINISTER COMMENTS ON MOSCOW VISIT

NC192022 Moscow Radio in Greek to Cyprus 1730 GMT 19 May 81

[Statement by Cyprus Minister of Commerce Kittis to a Radio Moscow correspondent after the conclusion of his official trip to Moscow--recorded; date not given]

[Text] Before proceeding to the results, I would like to express our warm thanks for the truly very frank and warm reception and hospitality that was accorded to the Cypriot delegation during its stay here and for the program that was organized by the Ministry of Foreign Trade of the Soviet Union. Regarding the special content of the contacts we had, I can say that we have concluded two agreements. The first provides for the purchase by Cyprus of a significant quantity of mazut for electricity production in Cyprus and the other agreement consists of a contract by the Soviet Union for the purchase of viniculture produce to an extent that will help greatly solve the viniculture problem we expect to have in Cyprus this year. We have also signed an agreement for the purchase by the Cyprus Council for Viniculture Produce ten large stainless steel storage tanks for alcoholic products, which will help us save space when receiving grapes.

As we noted at the Soviet Union's Ministry for Foreign Trade, Cyprus-Soviet commercial relations are developing smoothly, and this year the 5-year agreement that was signed in 1975 will end. Both sides have agreed that at the end of this year delegations from both sides should meet either in Cyprus--rather on Cyrpus--in order to renew our commercial agreement, perhaps for 5 more years.

In addition, we are trying to build a more permanent commercial relationship between the two countries that will not be based only on annual or 5-year commercial agreements merely for the purchase or sale of certain products, but to enter the field of cooperation. We have met with great understanding of our problems, and we have also tried to understand and help overcome as much as we can the difficulties the Soviet side is encountering with regard to the implementation of the current commercial agreement. However, I can say that I am leaving the Soviet Union completely satisfied with the results. I am sure that the people of Cyprus will fully appreciate the achievements of this mission when they have been informed of all the details.

GROMYKO RECEIVES BELGIAN GOVERNMENT'S REPLY

LD191130 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1100 GMT 19 May 81

[Text] Gromyko, member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and USSR minister of foreign affairs, today received Belgian Ambassador to the Soviet Union Taelemans, at the latter's request. The ambassador handed over the Belgian Government's reply to the Soviet leadership's recent appeal elaborating the foreign policy initiatives advanced at the 26th CPSU Congress on questions connected with the strengthening of peace and security in Europe and restraining the arms race.

During their conversation, the two sides expressed the intention to promote further development of Soviet-Belgian relations.

FURTHER REPORTAGE, COMMENT ON LEBANESE SITUATION

U.S.-Israeli 'Alliance'

LD181600 Moscow TASS in English 1535 GMT 18 May 81

[TASS commentator Yuriy Tyssovskiy: "Who Is Heightening the Situation Around Lebanon?"]

[Text] Moscow, 18 May, TASS--An explosive situation has developed in the Middle East. The political atmosphere has been charged to the maximum by brazen demands placed by the Israeli leadership on Syria and Lebanon. What Israel demands is that these countries should abandon their legitimate right to protection from encroachments on their sovereignty and independence.

The disquietening factors are obvious. These are primarily the aggressive position of Menahem Begin and his associates who directly threaten with the use of force if Syria and Lebanon do not yield to Tel Aviv's open blackmail. Heavily armed with American weapons, Israel believes that there are no laws for it to observe. No matter that the defensive nature of the antiaircraft missile systems covering the contingents of the interarab peace-keeping force in Lebanon from air attacks does not give rise to any doubts.

As to the Zionist leadership in Israel which speculates on the situation around Lebanon, it believes it has the right to do what it wants with impunity in the air space of that sovereign Arab country. The second important element in the current tension are the U.S. administration's actions. Under the smokescreen of the "peacemaking mission" of the U.S. President's special envoy Philip Habib, Washington is trying to conceal its openly pro-Israeli stand. In fact, Habib wants that Israel be given an opportunity to continue bombings of peaceful cities and villages in Lebanon to terrorise civilians and destroy the Palestinian resistance movement. These objectives, by the way, fully correspond to the U.S. goals, which was actually admitted by the U.S. President's national security adviser Allen who gave the green light to Tel Aviv to commit rapacious attacks on neighbouring Lebanon. Under the cover of the search for ways to settle the missile crisis, Washington has concentrated close to the Lebanese shores a formidable armada of 32 warships led by the aircraft carrier Independence.

The third factor is the treacherous stand of Egyptian President Anwar as-Sadat who yesterday assured Israel that its rears would be protected in case of an armed conflict with Syria. The Camp David accords will remain a firm reality, he said, making it clear that Cairo places its commitments before Israel higher than the joint defence pact of Arab states signed also by an Egyptian representative.

The roots of the current crisis situation stem from the "special relations" linking Washington and Tel Aviv. Assuming the pledge to give total economic and military-political support for its client and ally in the Middle East, all American administrations always adhered to that course. The present bosses of the White House went to even greater lengths. They openly justify Israel's peremptory demands to Arabs, removed restrictions on the use of American weapons during attacks on other countries, and support the annexationist aspirations of the Israeli leaders and their genocide of the Arab people of Palestine. The alliance between Zionism and American imperialism is thus the chief threat to peace and security in the Middle East.

Habib's Talks in Syria

LD191128 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 0930 GMT 19 May 81

[From the "International Diary" Program, presented by Aleksandr Fedonin and Georgiy Alekseyev]

[Text] Habib, special representative of the U.S. President in the Near East, is today conducting the third round of talks in Damascus. Washington is strongly advertising his mission as a peace-making one. In fact, the efforts of the American representative are directed at gaining concessions from Syria and Lebanon, at obliging these countries to satisfy the claims of Tel Aviv. The pretext for exacerbation of the conflict that Israel has chosen is the deployment of anti-aircraft missiles in the central region of the country by Syrian units of the inter-Arab peace-keeping forces in Lebanon.

Syrian leaders have stated more than once that this is a defensive measure, aimed at defending Lebanese settlements from the attacks of Israeli aircraft. Such a position by Syria is met with approval and support in the other Arab countries. Saudi Arabia, Kuwait, Algeria, Lebanon [as heard], Libya and other states have already stated this. This turn of events obviously does not suit Washington. This is apparently why the mission of the U.S. President's representative to the Near East was extended. At the same time as the diplomatic maneuvers, the United States is maintaining ships of the U.S. 6th Fleet off the coast of Lebanon. A Pentagon representative has confirmed that an assault group, led by the aircraft carrier Independence, is now in this region. There is also a formation of warships led by the aircraft carrier Forrestal.

In parallel with this, Washington is stepping up military supplies to Israel. A leader of the military department said the United States will, in future, continue to give unconditional military aid to Tel Aviv. Speaking in Washington, Under Secretary of Defense for Policy Fred Ilke admitted the United States intends to strengthen its military position in the Near East. According to him, Washington, in due course, intends to deploy its forces there on a continual basis. In the meantime, according to a report in the informed ARMED FORCES JOURNAL, a program has been worked out by American strategists for transferring large troop units to the Near and Middle East. The Pentagon has sent Congress a secret report on this program, which will cost the American taxpayer more than $30 billion.

Ponomarov Commentary

LD191550 Moscow TASS in English 1534 GMT 19 May 81

[TASS news analyst Leonid Ponomarov: "Lebanon: The Situation Gets Aggravated"]

[Text] Moscow, 19 May, TASS--According to U.S. press reports, Israel has moved additional troops and combat equipment to the Golan Heights and to the border with Lebanon in preparation to make an air and land attack on Lebanon. Tel Aviv's military preparations are being pointedly built up at the height of so-called "diplomatic mission" by Philip Habib, special envoy of U.S. President, who was sent to the Middle East ostensibly for the purpose of promoting a peaceful settlement to the Lebanese crisis. The aggravation of the situation around Lebanon is known to have begun as a result of Israel's new military provocations against Lebanon.

The efforts by the U.S. envoy, however, are of overtly pro-Israeli character. They are aimed at giving diplomatic support to the brazen claims of the Israeli ultras who seek to divide that Arab country.

Washington representatives, under the cover of demagogic statements in favour of a "peaceful solution" to the Lebanese crisis, in actual fact add fuel to the fire still more, openly encouraging the aggressive aspirations of the Israeli militarists. Thus, along with giving diplomatic and political support to Tel Aviv, U.S. leaders are now considering a question of giving additional military aid to Israel. Only yesterday Fred Ikle, U.S. undersecretary of defense for policy, stated that the USA would do everything possible for maintaining Israel's "qualitative military edge" over its Arab neighbours.

The Israeli military without any restrictions are using U.S. weapons against civilian population in Lebanon and for raids on Palestinian refugee camps. The USA derives benefit from the tense situation which is being brought about by Tel Aviv with U.S. aid. In particular, U.S. politicians are speeding up the realisation of plans for creation of military bases in the Middle East and of so-called multinational forces in order to ensure U.S. military presence in the region on a permanent basis.

The USA is now provoking new clashes between rightist-Christian armed formations and the inter-Arab peace-keeping force in Lebanon, and justifies in advance Tel Aviv's aggressive actions against Lebanon and Syria while some figures from the U.S. State Department go to the lengths of saying that if Israel delivered a "warning strike" earlier, the matter would have long been ended. Such instigatory statements are being supplemented with threats by high-ranking representatives of the U.S. Government to the effect that time alloted for a peaceful solution to the crisis is "running out" and that military actions become inevitable.

Such pronouncements indicate that the U.S. administration has openly joined in Israel's brazen ultimatum to Lebanon and Syria. The aim of the U.S.-Israeli ultimatim is to provoke a new conflict in the Middle East, during which attempts would be made to disunite Arab peoples, to "close" the Palestinian problem through final annexation of the West Bank of the Jordan and Gaza Sector by Israel, and to estabilsh U.S. military-economic dominance in the region. For the sake of that the Washington strategists are prepared to stir up a fire of new war in the Middle East.

U.S. Ships Causing 'Anxiety'

LD192144 Moscow in Arabic to the Arab World 1530 GMT 19 May 81

[Excerpts] WAFA has reported the continued amassing of Israeli troops on the Lebanese border and in the separatists' pocket in the south. The news of the appearance of 32 U.S. naval ships near Lebanese shores is causing anxiety to the Arabs. Observers say that the dubious activity of the U.S. military very near Lebanon has far-reaching aims. The Pentagon is demonstrating to Tel Aviv, clearly and without any ambiguity, that the Israeli military clique will, in its present confrontation with the Arab countries, be able to rely on U.S. military aid.

Second, Washington needs this muscle-flexing for an obvious reason, namely, its attempt to intimidate the Arabs and compel them to yield to the Israeli will and intimidation. Thus, the hypocrisy of Washington's attitude becomes very clear; Washington, which dispatched its envoy Philip Habib to the Middle East under the cover of work for peace and self-restraint, practically sided with the aggressors when he conducted talks in Beirut and Damascus about the need to yield to Tel Aviv's (?serious) warning. Thus, Washington is once more displaying, by diplomatic methods and by gunboat diplomacy, its absolute support for Tel Aviv's aggressive policy and also its desire to heat to the extreme the atmosphere in the Middle East.

Geyvandov Commentary

LD200700 Moscow TASS in English 0631 GMT 20 May 81

["Opinion of PRAVDA News Analyst"--TASS headline]

[Text] Moscow, 20 May, TASS--"History has shown that the Middle East crisis, the reflection of which is the situation in Lebanon, cannot be resolved either by the force of arms or by back stage Camp David-type collusions. The only realistic alternative here is the search for ways of its peaceful, comprehensive settlement", PRAVDA news analyst Konstantin Geyvandov writes today.

"The constructive Soviet proposals on convocation of an international conference with the participation of all sides concerned, that were put forward at the 26th CPSU Congress, serve this aim", he believes.

The Israeli military commits every day criminal acts of aggression against Lebanon. The heavy artillery of the Israelis and their right-wing Christian puppets barbarously shells south Lebanese towns and villages. Palestinian refugee camps, are bombed from the air by Israeli Phantoms of the American make, while warships land from time to time on the Lebanese soil gangs of "commandos", who commit bandit raids against civilians.

Moreover, writes Konstantin Geyvandov, "this time Israel started expanding the proportions of the aggression by committing attacks on the inter-Arab peace force in Lebanon most of which are the Syrian troops. In reply, Syria took steps to strengthen anti-aircraft defences, which caused a stream of threats from Tel Aviv. Israel, backed by the United States, obviously pursues the course of escalating the Lebanese crisis, of unleashing a new war in the Middle East.

KHADDAM INTERVIEW ON SAM MISSILES IN LEBANON CITED

LD191335 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 16 May 81 p 5

[TASS report: "Syria's Position"]

[Text] Damascus, 15 May--In an interview with the newspaper ASH-SHARQ AL-AWSAT Syrian Foreign Minister 'Abd al-Halim Khaddam said: "By its policy in the Near East Israel is trying to create a situation conductive to the establishment of U.S. military domination in the region. Syria not only completely rejects this policy but is also resolutely rebuffing it, otherwise the Arab nation will cease to exist."

"We are now," the minister said, "faced with a choice: recognizing Israel's diktat and thus falling under its complete domination or rejecting that diktat. Naturally we have chosen the latter and, rebuffing Zionist encroachments, we are defending not only Syria's honor but also the honor of all Arab peoples."

Replying to a question concerning the strengthening of the anti-aircraft defense facilities in the deployment of Syrian troops belonging to the inter-Arab peace-keeping forces in Lebanon, Khaddam said that Syria took such a step solely in order to increase those forces' defense capability, particularly as surface-to-air missiles cannot threaten Israel's security in any way. The missiles, Khaddam said, are part of the inter-Arab forces' arsenal and no one has the right to demand their withdrawal.

The minister stressed that the only way to establish peace and calm in Lebanon is to achieve a national consensus between all sides. This should be a genuine consensus based on the preservation of Lebanon's independence and its territorial integrity.

He stressed that Israel's provocative step of destroying 2 Syrian helicopters has once more exacerbated the situation in the country.

With regard to the Soviet proposals on the Near East the minister said: We welcome these initiatives and will cooperate with any international movement advocating a peace based on the principles of justice.

SYRIAN ENVOY TO HUNGARY MAKES STATEMENT ON LEBANON

LD192346 Moscow TASS in English 2058 GMT 19 May 81

[Text] Budapest, 19 May, TASS--"Syria wants peace, but will give a resolute rebuff to any Israeli aggression. Under no American or Israeli pressure will it withdraw from Lebanon the anti-aircraft military equipment defending the Lebanese people, Palestinians and the interarab peace-keeping force". According to an MTI agency report, a statement to this effect was made here at a press conference by Saddik Saddikni, Syrian ambassador to Hungary.

Israel's military operations against Lebanon are a fresh manifestation of its aggressive, expansionist policy, the ambassador went on to say. He stressed that the Syrian troops, which are staying in Lebanon with the consent of the Lebanese Government, will remain there until peace is restored.

"The mass media, which are at the service of imperialism, spread reports about some tacit agreement, between Syria and Israel on a 'red line' which the interarab peace-keeping force will allegedly not cross," the ambassador said. Nobody has concluded such an agreement. This is confirmed by the recent official statement by the Government of Syria. The spreading of false rumours along with armed actions is directed at a further aggravation of tensions in Lebanon, a weakening of the Palestinians and, in the long run, at strengthening the U.S. presence in the region."

The ambassador pointed out the importance of the Soviet proposals on lessening the Middle East tensions and expressed profound gratitude to the socialist countries for their consistent support for the righteous cause of the Arab peoples.

SYRIAN MINISTER ON 'FRATERNAL SOLIDARITY' OF USSR

LD201014 Moscow TASS in English 1725 GMT 19 May 81

[Text] Takhkent, 19 May, TASS--"We are grateful to the Soviet people for its warm hospitality, for fraternal solidarity with our efforts directed at rallying the progressive forces of the Middle East in the struggle against the schemings of imperialism and Zionism," it was stated by the Minister of Culture and National Orientation of the Syrian Arab Republic Najah al-'Attar. She is heading a Syrian delegation that is staying in Uzbekistan, a Soviet Central Asian republic. The head of the Syrian delegation noted that the experience of the Uzbek people, who have made a gigantic stride in the years of Soviet Government from backwardness to a highly developed economy and a harmoniously developing culture, is of interest to developing countries, including (?Syria).

The Syrian delegation is staying here in connection with the week of Syrian culture. It visited cultural and educational institutions in Tashkent, the capital of Uzbekistan. The guests also inspected the collections of many of the city's museums and saw a performance at the opera and ballet theatre. Members of the delegation took part in a holiday of the friendship of Soviet peoples--the opening of the days of literature and art of Tadzhikistan, a soviet Central Asian republic bordering on Uzbekistan.

ZORIN COMMENTARY ON IRAN'S DOMESTIC SITUATION

NC191410 Moscow in Persian to Iran 1630 GMT 15 May 81

[Text] Discussing the situation in Iran on Radio Moscow's Wednesday feature "In the World Today", Soviet central radio and television political analyst Valentin Zorin said: Reports from Iran's capital show that the political situation in Iran continues to be very complicated. According the informed magazine THE FAR EASTERN ECONOMIC REVIEW, Iran's domestic situation is so complicated that the danger of an explosion exists; within the next 6 months difficulties might reach a sensitive point at which time the critical moment might emerge.

Valentin Zorin then said: Topping the list of incidents is the difference which exists between Iran's President Bani-Sadr and the Islamic Republic Party led by Prime Minister Raja'i, which enjoys the majority in the parliament. Some time ago, when describing the existing situation Bani-Sadr himself said that Iran is the world's only country where the president is in the opposition. Truly speaking the situation is sufficiently peculiar.

Valentin Zorin added: The Western press tries to present Bani-Sadr as the center of attraction for Iranians who have been educated in the West and want to place the country on the path toward a new type of capitalist growth. But the Islamic Republic Party rejects Western values which clash with religion and it believes that Islam is of top importance and all that does not conform with Islam should be repudiated. But this is a superficial approach. The masses gave the main motivation for the revolution that overthrew the pro-American monarchical despotism. They no longer wanted, nor could they tolerate, the absolute overlordship of the domestic feudals, the dependence on the capitalist West and above all on the United States--to whom the shah sold Iran's wealth at wholesale and retail price--nor did they want the shah's bloody terror. This is exactly what formed the basis of Iran's revolution and not the difference in the concepts of capitalist growth and Islamic values. This is where the revolution's progressive importance lies.

As a result of existing conditions, representatives of various groups have been able to gain control over the country's incidents and emerged on the top of the wave of the anti-imperialist patriotic movement. Ayatollah Khomeyni, because he was one of the most active strugglers against the shah, who pressurized and oppressed him, having gained great respect and credibility in the country, plays a major role in the country's present political life. The two hostile groups rely on his respect in order to make it known to public opinion that they are the ones who reflect the imam's ideas and views in a fuller way. There is no doubt that if Khomeyni overtly supported one of the hostile political groups, this group would surmount the others. But Khomeyni does not do this.

We think that the future course of developments in Iran's revolution will be manifested under genuine conditions, or in other words--under the same conditions when the Iranians won over the shah's regime. But at any rate, Iran's present domestic situation continues to be extremely tense and reports from Tehran prove this.

CUBA'S RAUL CASTRO WANTS TO AVOID WAR WITH U.S.

PY192137 Moscow in Spanish to Latin America 2300 GMT 15 May 81

[Viktor Deruga commentary]

[Text] I would like to discuss a report published by the Cuban magazine VERDE OLIVO. The report deals with a visit which Raul Castro, Cuban minister of Revolutionary Armed Forces, recently paid to a tank unit, where he talked with commanding officers, officers and privates. These are some of the remarks he made on that occasion: If a war begins one has to win it in any case because ours would not be the case of two bourgeois countries of similar social systems where there would be only a shift of power groups. If there is war between us and the United States there would be a clash of ideologies, two different social systems, and the war would be to the death. However, the Cuban minister emphasized: We have another way to win a war, that is, avoiding it. This is what we want; to avoid war would be the best present we could give to future generations.

USTINOV MEETS WITH CUBAN CHIEF OF STAFF IN MOSCOW

LD200757 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 15 May 81 p 1

[TASS report: "Friendly Talk"]

[Text] On 14 May Marshal of the Soviet Union D.F. Ustinov, member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and defense minister, received Div Gen S. Casas Regueiro, candidate member of the Communist Party of Cuba Central Committee Politburo, chief of the General Staff and first vice minister of the Revolutionary Armed Forces of Cuba, who is in the Soviet Union.

There was a warm, friendly talk during which questions of mutual interest were discussed.

Taking part in the talk were Marshal of the Soviet Union N.V. Ogarkov, chief of the General Staff of the Armed Forces and USSR first deputy defense minister, and Eng Col Gen M.A. Sergeychik.

DEPUTY CHAIRMAN KATUSHEV RECEIVES FLAVIO BRAVO

FL150036 Havana Domestic Television Service in Spanish 0000 GMT 15 May 81

[Text] Konstantin Katushev, deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers, received in Moscow today Flavio Bravo, vice president of the Cuban Council of Ministers. Matters concerning bilateral relations were discussed at the meeting.

MOSCOW SEES CIA INVOLVEMENT IN PERUVIAN TERRORISM

PY192352 Moscow Radio Peace and Progress in Spanish to Latin America 0130 GMT 15 May 81

[Text] According to reports, Peru is experiencing a wave of terrorist attacks, mostly bombings. The actions of the terrorists do not seem to have a definite objective. Certain observers believe that the terrorists have in mind disrupting the atmosphere of the country, thus creating a pretext for repressing democratic leftwing organizations.

These charges are disseminated by the reactionary press which says that the bombings have been perpetrated by the left. In response to these charges the magazine MARKA has indicated that terrorist attacks are rather part of a conspiracy aimed at establishing Peru and turning it into another Bolivia.

The Peruvian communists and the Peruvian General Labor Confederation have issued statements. The latter's secretary general, Eduardo Castillo, has emphasized that his organization has been threatened with repression by rightwing gangs. In turn, government officials have been forced to admit that the government does not have any evidence that the left is responsible for the banditry unleashed.

It has been said that the terrorist wave is over; however, past events give rise to some thoughts. Let us recall, for instance, that Peru has never been the target of ultra-rightist terrorism. Contrary to Guatemala, El Salvador and Argentina, Peru has never fallen victim to unbridled violence. Here the regressive forces have not dared--and not because of any lack of desire to do so--to kidnap and mass murder democrats, to place bombs in stores, news media facilities or progressive organizations.

However, lately rightwing banditry has been cropping up. The key to an explanation of this phenomenon must be sought in the policy of the new Yankee government. President Reagan has stated his extreme concern over international terrorism. He needs evidence to strengthen his point of view and events capable of providing a pretext for a U.S. intervention anywhere in the world, Peru included.

Everything considered, Belaunde Terry's conservative regime is excessively liberal in the eyes of the Yankees. In any case, Peru has the outward signs of a representative democracy. Independent trade unions and leftwing parties operate actively. Peru has equal relations with all countries of the world including the socialist ones. Thus, the Peruvian status quo seems far from the American ideal like, for example, Pinochet's Chile or Stroessner's Paraguay. In the opinion of the Yankees, Peru has a genuine democratic order.

Therefore, Washington feels that the other Latin American countries are bound to follow this example. Because of this, certain groups have appeared in Peru charged with heating up the atmosphere in order to destabilize the country and to pave the way for the advent to power of the most ultraright sectors of the armed forces and the autocracy.

Many observers feel that gringo espionage services are behind Peruvian events. It is no secret that on similar occasions, the CIA has been responsible for the increase of right-wing terrorism.

In the 70's the CIA closely cooperated with the Chilean fascist gangs Patria-Libertad and Rolando Matos which were responsible for political murders including that of the then army commander in chief, Rene Schneider.

In Costa Rica the CIA sponsors the Mano Blanca and Partido Unidad gangs through which it knifes the democratic forces in the back. These very same Americans are behind the regressive forces of Rio de Janeiro and of those who recently exploded bombs in Belem.

There is no need to mention El Salvador and Guatemala, where the CIA openly supports the Ordern, Ejercito Secreto Anticomunista and other similar terrorist bands.

In the light of these events, the obvious conclusion is that nowadays the United States is conducting in Latin America a policy aimed at liquidating the remnants of the so-called representative democracy.

Military and oligarchic tyrannies and the unbridled exploitation by multinationals are the aims of this onslaught sponsored by U.S. secret services.

ANTHOLOGY OF CHERNENKO SPEECHES, ARTICLES REVIEWED

LD191545 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 15 May 81 pp 2-3

[Unattributed article: "The Party Is the Vanguard of the Soviet People"--capitalized words published in boldface]

[Text] Mankind's history can show no other political organization that has exerted by its activity the enormous influence on the course of world events which the party of the new type created and forged by the great Lenin--the CPSU--has. Its domestic and foreign policy successes are ensured by the consistent creative development and implementation of the ideas of Leninism and by the constant strengthening of the inviolable unity of party and people.

The 26th CPSU Congress, the first major historic event of the eighties, was a significant new milestone on the road to communism. In its decisions the congress illuminated our road to the future, so to speak, developed Marxist-Leninist theory in conformity with the current and long-term tasks of communist creation and put forward a clear, mobilizing program of the struggle for peace and social progress. The congress materials sum up the intensive ideological and theoretical, political and organizational work of the party and its Central Committee. The scope and content of this work are reflected in the party documents and in the works of Comrade L. I. Brezhnev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee and chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, and the other party and state leaders. These include the recently-published book by Comrade K. U. Chernenko, member of the Central Committee Politburo and secretary of the CPSU Central Committee. (footnote) (K. U. Chernenko, "Selected Speeches and Articles" Moscow, Political Literature Publishing House, 1981, pp 679) which incorporates speeches, articles and extracts from books for the period 1971 through December 1980.

1.

The main theme of the book is the Communist Party's activity under contemporary conditions and its naturally increasing role in social development and in resolving the increasingly large-scale and complex problems set by life. A further increase in the CPSU's leading and guiding role is taking place during the stage of developed socialism. "Our whole life, our whole experience provides cogent evidence that the more widely the working people's masses are involved in communist building and the more strongly creative initiative capable of firing and inspiring millions of people springs forth from the midst of the people's masses, the more the Communist Party's leading role in our society increases," the author writes (p 606).

The Communist Party is a creative political organization. All aspects of its activity undergo particular changes and are purposefully improved in accordance with the major changes taking place in present-day Soviet society. The scientific basis for this is provided by the concept of developed socialism formulated by the party, which has become part of the treasury of revolutionary Marxist-Leninist theory. The 26th CPSU Congress noted that, on the basis of this concept, the party has clarified and concretized the ways and timescale for the implementation of our program aims and determined strategy and tactics for a long historical period.

K.U. Chernenko's book considers the most important regularities of the party's activity and of the implementation of its leading role under the conditions of developed socialism.

The author constantly keeps in view the question of the CPSU's place in Soviet society's political system and the problem of party organizations' relationship with state, economic and public organizations. Indeed, in order to be more successful in leading all social development, it is necessary to have a clear and specific idea of the whole extremely complex system of the organization of economic and sociopolitical relations, to have well-organized connections and close cooperation with all the components of that system, and to be able to channel their activity in the same direction.

Following Lenin's instructions, as creatively applied to contemporary conditions, the CPSU seeks the precise demarcation of the functions of party, state and economic administration. It leads the work of state and economic organs and public organizations not by exercising petty tutelage and supplanting them, but by "concentrating its main efforts on work and cadres, increasing exactingness toward them, organizing the verification of execution and developing the activeness of the communists and all the working people" (p 222).

A profound analysis is made of questions of the development of democratic centralism, which is rightly regarded as a principle of the organization of social activity which is universal so far as the new system is concerned, which came into being together with the party and which is especially significant for its development and the further heightening of its leading role. The courses of social progress demands that both elements of this principle and the interconnection between them be improved. "On the one hand it is a matter of strengthening centralism, which is the organizational guarantee of the implementation of the party's general line, which ensures the expression of the most general interests of the people and which is an obstacle to possible departmental or localistic tendencies," the book says. "On the other hand, it is a matter of deepening and improving intraparty democracy, seeking to increase the activeness of all communists, developing primary organizations' initiative and combining all the party's work with creative spontaneous activity on the part of the masses" (p 157).

The anthology pays much attention to a question of prime theoretical and political importance--that of seeking new ways of strengthening the party's ties with the masses and of stepping up those aspects of the work of party organs and primary organizations that promote this to the greatest extent. That sort of approach is entirely in line with the behests of V. I. Lenin, who pointed out: "In order to serve the masses and express THEIR correctly recognized interests, the leading detachment, the organization must carry out its entire activities among the masses, recruiting from them all the best forces without exception and at every step checking carefully and objectively to see whether the link with the masses is being maintained and is a living link. It is thus and ONLY thus that the leading detachment educates and enlightens the masses, expressing THEIR interests, teaching them organization and channeling ALL the masses' activity into a conscious class policy" ("Complete Collected Works," Vol 24 p 37). One such channel for strengthening the party's link with the masses and increasing the masses' activeness in communist building is the increasingly widespread involvement of working people in the administration of the state, production and public affairs, particularly and especially in the organization of nationwide accounting and control in various spheres and components of our national economy. It is no accident that the 26th CPSU Congress attached such great significance to these problems.

Lenin's party enjoys tremendous, truly undivided prestige and influence among the masses. K. U. Chernenko's works consistently pursue the idea that this influence and prestige, won through heroic struggle, must be constantly, daily bolstered by the efforts of party organizations and all communists. "It is no simple matter to be the political leader of the masses. A vanguard, leading role in society cannot be decreed. It must be won by specific actions and recognized by the masses. If a party correctly expresses what the people are conscious of, if the masses see for themselvds that the communists' policy is in line with their interests and aspirations, the party's cause becomes the vital cause of the whole people. The CPSU has become the recognized and authoritative leader in society because it has been able to prove in practice its capacity to scientifically express and consistently implement the vital and everyday interests of the broad masses" (p 438). The growth of the party's ideological, political and moral influence among the masses provides an extremely important precondition for the continued strengthening and implementation of its leading role in communist building.

2.

The book gives profound and multifaceted coverage to the problems of the Leninist style in the work of the party and state apparatus. The Leninist style of party leadership, the author writes, represents a specific mechanism for implementing the objective law of the increase in the party's leading role during the process of communist building.

During the stage of developed socialism "the ability to correctly use the available potential to choose the focal problems that ensure the success of the whole cause, to find rational ways of solving those problems and to mobilize the masses to fulfill what has been planned assumes particularly urgent significance. This means that every leader and specialist must have a mastery of the Leninist style in work, the Leninist science of administration" (p 381).

What are the main demands of the Leninist style? As Comrade L. I. Brezhnev has noted, "it is a creative style that is alien to subjectivism and permeated by a scientific approach toward all social processes. It assumes great exactingness toward oneself and others, precludes complacency and opposes any manifestations of bureaucracy and formalism." In K. U. Chernenko's book the features of the Leninist style in party and state work are considered in detail and from various aspects. In concise, systematized form these features are as follows: unity of theory and practice, a scientific approach toward all problems and the choice of the most efficient ways and means of solving pressing tasks: the combination of revolutionary scope with communist businesslike, efficient and specific leadership, a close link with the masses; the combination of collectiveness with personal responsibility; and the display of initiative and of a sense of the new.

V. I. Lenin regarded the ability to conduct organizational work among the masses as one of the chief merits of communists called upon to head the building of a new society, and objected to any attempts to set up an opposition between a businesslike approach and revolutionariness (See Vol 36 p 159). The 26th CPSU Congress set an example of purposefulness and a businesslike approach organically fused with great revolutionary ideals. That sort of businesslike approach must be the norm for the life of all party organizations and leaders who are party members.

A businesslike approach and the ability to correctly organize practical work counter idle talk, formalism, oversimplification and onesidedness. The book cites as an example the falsity of the opinion that "all you need to do to ensure a scientific approach is to involve a group of scientists or specialists in the formulation of another plan or a detailed new resolution, draw up flowcharts and timetables for the implementation of the next measures, and carry out a sociological survey" (p 532). Questions of organization, a businesslike approach and exactingness are neither partial nor secondary since it is a matter of implementing the ideas and plans for revolutionary transformation and of realizing the goals of communist creation. A communist businesslike approach promotes the strengthening of the links between theory and practice and ensures the conditions for a truly scientific, creative approach to solving urgent problems.

The great attention that the book pays to the tasks of the struggle against bureaucracy and formalism is natural in this connection. "Bureaucracy," K. U. Chernenko writes, "is a complex interlacing of many shortcomings and deficiencies--inertia and indiscipline, disregard for one's own official duty and a lack of respect for others' labor, chicanery, a lack of culture, ignorance, and so forth. The stronger and healthier our leadership and administration apparatus, the more ruthless the struggle against the various kinds of bureaucratic distortions must be" (p 551). We have all the requisite means to step up this struggle: the development and deepening of socialist democracy, the involvement of tens of millions of working people in the administration of the state, the persistent assertion everywhere of a Leninist style in work.

A condition for and at the same time a result of the improvement of the Leninist style is the widespread development of principled criticism and self-criticism. This, the book says, is a sign of a party organization's political health and correct understanding of its duty to the party and the people. It is in precisely such an ideological and moral atmosphere that the labor and sociopolitical activeness of the masses grows and the cause of communist creation is improved and accelerated. It is the duty of all communists to promote in every possible way the assertion of such a social atmosphere and of the Leninist norms of life.

From the angle of the assertion and improvement of the Leninist style, the book makes a particularly detailed and multifaceted examination of questions of work with working people's letters, of organizing control and the verification of execution, and also of the demands made on cadres in the administration apparatus. The tasks of the party apparatus, the author writes, are to notice emerging problems in time, assess them correctly, from a Leninist standpoint, and in timely fashion to make the decisions taken on the essence of these problems the basis for the activity of all party organizations.

Mastery of the Leninist style of work is the guarantee of the further strengthening of the unity of party and people and of new victories in building the new society and shaping the new man. To be well aware of the masses' feelings and aspirations and to have a clear idea of what today constitutes the people's instructions is an immutable norm of the Leninist style of work and a condition for the constant heightening of the CPSU's leading role.

3.

A characteristic feature of the CPSU's ideological and political and theoretical activity is the fact that the party poses pressing problems in their broad historical connection --and poses them truly dialectically--and in harmony with large-scale social processes and long-term goals. A similar approach marks the book under review. The persistent party work to assert and improve the Leninist style which it reveals is connected in the closest possible way with one of developed socialism's main tasks--completing the restructuring of the totality of social relations on the basis of the collectivist principles intrinsically inherent in socialism. In just the same way all the problems of heightening the party's leading role in communist building are correlated with the fundamental task in creating the new society--overcoming the remnants of arbitrariness in social development and resolutely increasing the scientific and planned approach in administering social processes, whereby, to use K. Marx' words, people gain full control of the material conditions of their own vital activity. This is the context in which the speeches and articles included in the anthology consider essentially the whole range of problems of CPSU domestic and foreign policy.

The material in the book is permeated by the idea that successes in the revolutionary transformation of the world and in any component part of that great practical activity are directly dependent on the consistency and creativity with which V. I. Lenin's behests and the ideas of Marxism-Leninism are implemented. Invariable loyalty to Lenin's dialectics--and in particular to his point that "the whole art of administration and politics consists of considering in good time and knowing where to focus your main efforts and attention" (Vol 40 p 85)--has helped the party to center the Soviet people's attention nowadays on the task of intensifying production in every possible way, this being the key task that determines success in all other sectors of our building. The book raises questions of the activity of the administrative apparatus and of methods of contemporary organizational and ideological and political work in direct connection with the fundamental problems of shaping and implementing CPSU policy.

Soviet people know that the further improvement of their lives and the motherland's affluence and prosperity depend on the strengthening of the country's economic and defense might and of its situation in the international arena. That is why the nationwide interest in foreign policy issues is so great today and why Soviet people's support is so great for the CPSU's truly Leninist--peace-loving, principled in a class fashion--foreign policy, thanks to which our country has been living in peace for more than 36 years now. The book cogently reveals the indissoluble unity of a scientific approach and humanism in the policy of Lenin's party, both domestic and foreign. After all, "the characteristic feature of the CPSU's activity is the fact that its domestic and foreign policy constitute a unified whole, are closely connected with one another, are mutually dependent [obuslovlenyy] and are aimed at achieving common goals" (p 123). The humanism of these goals is precisely the basis for the statement that socialism and peace are indivisible.

The successes of Soviet foreign policy have been ensured by a careful scientific analysis of modern economic and sociopolitical processes. The book stresses the outstanding significance in shaping this constructive and effective policy of the creative contribution made by Comrade L.I. Brezhnev and his tireless and fruitful activity for the good of peace and the peoples' security.

The 26th congress decisions are new evidence of the CPSU's loyalty to creative Leninism. In his report at the 22 April ceremony devoted to the 111th anniversay of V. I. Lenin's birth, the author of the book remarked: "All that was said at the congress, its lines on questions of the theory and practice of communist building; of the improvement of the political system and of the development of the economy and culture, its assessments and conclusions relating to the world revolutionary process and foreign policy--all that is inextricably linked with Lenin's teaching. It all embodies the transforming force and revolutionary spirit of Leninism." The party is adamantly loyal to Lenin's behests, which is why Soviet people completely support its policy, look to the future with confidence and are redoubling their efforts to bring it nearer.

PRAVDA EDITORIAL ON COMMUNISTS' ROLE IN MINISTRIES

LD191143 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 11 May 81 p 1

[Editoral: "The Party Committee of a Ministry"]

[Text] Our country's working people are increasingly vigorously developing socialist competition to successfully fulfill and overfulfill the 11th 5-Year Plan targets and to increase work efficiency and quality. The achievements by the best collectives of many sectors in the first quarter testify convincingly to this.

"The resolution of the problems which confront us and the utilization of the opportunities at our disposal," Comrade L.I. Brezhnev observed at the 26th CPSU Congress, "largely depend on the standard of national economic leadership and the standard of planning and management."

In modern conditions when the scale of our economic activity was increased and the network of reciprocal economic links has become considerably more complicated; greater demands are being made on every ministry and department. The responsibility of their party organizations also is increasing many times over for the unconditional fulfillment of state targets, the further improvement of the economic mechanism and the improvement of the planning system. It was noted at the party congress that the forces of inertia, tradition and habit which developed in the period when it was not so much the qualitative as the quantitative aspect of things which was in the forefront have not yet been fully overcome. So it is all the more important, relying on accumulated experience; to be more resolute in eliminating these obstacles and ensuring a party, genuinely creative approach to things.

There is such experience in a number of party organizations in the management sphere. There is a great deal that is interesting, for example, in the practice of party committees in the USSR Ministries of Construction of Heavy Industry Enterprises, Chemical and Petroleum Machine Building, and of the Maritime Fleet. The experience of communists in these and several other sector headquarters shows how important it is to keep attention focused on cardinal questions of organizing work in the new way and to be persistent in overcoming adherence to outdated work methods.

Departmental or bureaucratic barriers are often erected in the way of resolving economic, and not only economic tasks. Who primarily should be struggling to overcome these barriers if not the ministry and department party committees? They are required to stand always resolutely and uncompromisingly on guard over the state's interests. A little more initiative and a little more principledness was what was asked of them from the rostrum of the party congress.

The ministry party organizations have at their disposal a strong means of contributing to improving matters in the shape of the right to monitor the apparatus' work in fulfilling party and government directives and observing Soviet laws. The necessity to use this right more fully to strengthen executive discipline was once again pointed out in the CPSU Central Committee resolution "On the State of Monitoring and Reviewing Execution in the USSR Ministry of the Petroleum Refining and Petrochemical Industry." Many shortcomings in management activity are due precisely to the absence of a clear monitoring system and a paperwork style of leadership. At the same time the art of leadership does not consist of churning out floods of instructions in the form of directives on every possible occasion. We must strive for unswerving fulfillment of every decision adopted within the prescribed time. This should be the aim of party monitoring!

At the meeting of the Ukrainian party aktiv, for example, the republic Ministry of Ferrous Metallurgy was sharply criticized for failing to fulfil targets for creating a cokeless metallurgy and new methods of producing and casting steel. Nor did the party committee display the necessary persistence here, but essentially kept itself remote from these very important problems. Of course, passivity is unbecoming of a party committee, which people rightly want to see as a militant proponent of everything new and progressive.

An invariable condition for improving apparatus activity is the assertion in it of a genuinely party, Leninist style of work. As we know, that assumes the organic combination of assured execution and discipline with bold initiative and enterprise, of practicality and professional skill with the aspiration to great aims. The vocation of party organizations in the management sphere is to react more keenly to shortcomings in a sector's leadership, to give it a principled, party assessment and to display the necessary exactingness toward workers for strict observance of party and state discipline. At party meetings communists' reports on their fulfillment of their job requirements and the demands of the CPSU rules should be heard more often.

The ministry worker, particularly the communist, must set an example in everything. However, this is not yet pursued everywhere. Thus A. Makharinets, deputy chief of the Rosrybpromsbyt association, when on business in Chita took part in a collective drinking bout at the expense of the enterprise under his department's jurisdiction, where the financial management discipline had been crudely violated. When this was found out the USSR Ministry of the Fish Industry party committee looked into the communist's personal case but judged his unworthy behavior extremely leniently. A. Makharinets was given strict party punishment only after the intervention of the CPSU Central Committee Party Control Committee.

It is impossible to raise the standard of sector leadership without further improvement of the qualitative composition and placement of cadres and an increase in their qualifications. Party committees and bureaus are urged to ensure that the truly worthy people and the best specialists are promoted to the ministries. Attempts to select personnel by favoritism, on the basis of subjective assessments or out of selfish interests must be resolutely stopped. It is important to take constant care to ensure that the department personnel systematically master Marxist-Leninist theory and modern methods of scientific work organization. The criterion of efficiency for this kind of study is the ability to successfully apply knowledge in daily work and the ability to sense and to see the problems raised by life and to resolve them skillfully.

The party has outlined an extensive building program for the next 5 years and for the future through 1990. Intensive work is going on in plants and construction sites, fields and livestock units and science laboratories. The duty of ministry communists, their party committees and bureaus is to be even more persistent in raising the quality of administrative work. This will help to achieve new successes in developing the economy and increasing the people's well being.

RASHIDOV, RASULOV SPEAK AT TADZHIK FESTIVAL

LD192200 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1700 GMT 19 May 81

[Excerpts] A festival of friendship and brotherhood among Soviet peoples came to the land of Uzbekistan today: The days of literature and art of the Tadzhik SSR have begun there. Their opening took place in the Tashkent Palace of Friendship Among Peoples.

Rashidov, candidate member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and first secretary of the Uzbek Communist Party Central Committee, and Rasulov, first secretary of the Tadzik Communist Party Central Committee, spoke at the opening of the days of literature and art.

SHEVARDNADZE ATTENDS GEORGIAN MEMORIAL UNVEILING

LD192124 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1500 GMT 19 May 81

[Excerpt] Today on the eve of the celebrations devoted to the 60th anniversary of the Georgian SSR and Georgian Communist Party a memorial to an eminent activist of the Communist Party and Soviet state, the Bolshevik-Leninist Dzhaparidze, has been unveiled in Tbilisi. The ceremony was attended by Comrade Shevardnadze, candidate member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and first secretary of the Georgian Communist Party Central Committee.

NEW UZBEK PETROLEUM COMMITTEE CHAIRMAN ANNOUNCED

LD200815 Tashkent PRAVDA VOSTOKA in Russian 6 May 81 p 1

[Text] Tashkent, 5 May--The Uzbek SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium has decided to appoint Comrade Vali Abduvakhidovich Khamidov chairman of the Uzbek SSR State Committee for the Supply of Petroleum Products.

[Signed] I. Usmankhodzhayev, chairman of the Uzbek SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium; G. Khaydarova, secretary of the Uzbek SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium.

RADIO REPORTS AGRICULTURAL DEVELOPMENTS 18 MAY

LD190418 [Editorial Report] The following is a compilation of reports on agricultural developments in the USSR carried by Moscow Domestic Service in Russian on 18 May. Times of broadcasts are given in parentheses at the end of each item.

North Kazakhstan is sowing wheat on up to 1.5 million hectares daily. In Omskaya Oblast spring crops have been sown on 500,000 hectares to date. In Orlovskaya Oblast, the sowing of wheat, barley and oats has been completed. (0000 GMT)

The grain growers of Altayskiy Kray have planted their first 1 million hectares of spring crops. (0400 GMT)

In Turkmenistan alfalfa harvesting has started on all farms of Ashkhabadskaya, Maryskaya and Chardzhouskaya Oblasts. It is planned to gather 700,000 tons of hay, and almost as much haylage. (0600 GMT)

Kazakh farmers have begun sowing spring crops on the eleventh millionth hectare. The sowing of flax has been completed in Smolenskaya Oblast. Despite the late spring, the sowing was completed speedily and with good care, which permits expectations of a good harvest. A quarter of RSFSR output of flax comes from Smolenskaya Oblast. One year's yield is sufficient to produce 100 million meters of linens. (0800 GMT)

Over 500,000 hectares have been sown to wheat in Tselinogradskaya Oblast. Farmers in Chardarinskiy Rayon of Chimkentskaya Oblast have completed soya sowing. The area sow to soya in southern Kazakhstan is to double this year. Mass potato planting is in progress in Ryazanskaya Oblast. In Omskaya Oblast, despite late snow falls, farmers are busily endeavoring to ensure maximum production efficiency from every hectare. (1000 GMT)

Latvian farmers have completed grain sowing and plan to harvest an average 24-25 quintals of grain per hectare. More than 800,000 hectares are sown to grain in Latvia. (1100 GMT)

Moldavia: Sowing of the republic's main grain fodder crop, corn, is ending. Cold weather and rain held up the operation somewhat. Mineral fertilizers are being spread at the same time as the sowing. The sowing of sunflowers is also underway in the republic. The area under that crop has been increased. (1330 GMT)

Almost 120,000 hectares will be planted to potatoes in Bryanskaya Oblast. To date, potatoes have been sown over one-half the total area. (1800 GMT)

Spring crops have been sown on 500,000 hectares in Kurganskaya Oblast. Work is being carried out in bad weather conditions. (2300 GMT)

FARMERS' CURRENT TASKS IN EASTERN REGIONS VIEWED

LD200843 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 15 May 81 p 2

[A. Pazhitnev Agricultural Review: "Sowing in the East"]

[Text] The grainfields are displaying increasing vigor and the beet and sunflower plantations in the south are dotted with green shoots. But sowing remains the farmer's main preoccupation. It is underway nearly everywhere in the country. According to USSR Central Statistical Administration data, 57 million hectares of spring crops had been sown by 11 May. Last week 21.9 million hectares were sown--the biggest increase this year. Corn and cotton are being sown. Farmers are busy on potato and vegetable fields. Some 1,173,000 hectares of potatoes and 688,000 hectares of vegetables have been sown.

Tulips adorn the steppes beyond the Urals--a sign that the time has come to sow. Many farms in eastern parts have started sowing. Thousands of hectares have been sown to early crops by graingrowers in Omskaya and Chelyabinskaya Oblasts.

In the last 5-year plan Kazakh farmers gave the motherland 1 billion poods of grain on four occasions. This year they have set themselves the crucial task of producing 27-28 million tons of grain and overfulfilling the plan for sales to the state. Much is being done to achieve the goal: Fieldwork is being conducted in a well-organized fashion, as a rule, as an integrated production process.

Most farms in eastern parts have good conditions for obtaining a fine harvest. The fall plowing was accomplished, good seeds were procured and there is enough equipment. It is now important to adjust work schedules to this spring's specific features. All the winter and spring precipitation must be retained in the soil and weeds must be promptly and completely destroyed.

Farm chiefs and specialists on a number of farms in north Kazakhstan are approaching this task creatively, taking into account the specific conditions. This year moisture retention work has been performed more rapidly here. Equipment is being utilized in two shifts by many machine operators in Orenburgskaya Oblast where more than 5 million hectares have to be sown. To accelerate the work, detachments and complexes have been formed which aid the productivity of vehicles and machinery.

This spring around 48 million hectares in eastern parts will be sown to spring crops alone. This is more than one-half of the country's total area devoted to spring grain. A serious effort must be made to increase the yield, to determine everywhere the optimal structure for sowing areas and to give priority to the most productive strains and crops. In light of the 26th CPSU Congress decisions we must consistently widen the range and improve the quality of arable farming products. For example, strong wheats play a large role in Kokchetavskaya, Tselinogradskaya and other oblasts. Efforts must continue in order to increase their production. Durum wheats must not be neglected. But they are neglected on some farms in Kustanayskaya Oblast, for example. These particular cereals must be allocated proper areas, the best predecessor crops and fertilizers and they must be sown at precisely the right time.

Groat crops are grown on substantial areas beyond the Urals. A recently published party and government resolution calls for an increase in the production of buckwheat and millet, in particular. Many expert farmers in Aktyubinskaya and Karagandinskaya Oblasts have established rich traditions and acquired instructive experience of growing them. But groat sowing areas are being reduced on a number of farms in these and other Kazakh Oblasts.

Leaders and kolkhoz and sovkhoz specialists and personnel of kray, oblast and rayon agricultural administrations and planning organs must bring the crop structure into line with the country's food and raw material needs. A vigorous effort must be made to ensure the widespread use of soil-protection systems and techniques.

Graingrowers do not always skillfully exploit the heightened material potential. For example, high-powered tractors have proved particularly successful on the steppes. Yet a considerable number of these machines are still not ready in Novosibirskaya, Kemerovskaya, Tyumenskaya and Uralskaya Oblasts. Stocks of fuel and lubricants are low on a number of farms in Altayskiy Kray. Working people at industrial enterprises must take a lot of the responsibility for this. Not always do the Avtodizel and Kirovskiy zavod production associations, Volgograd's Barrikady plant and some other enterprises promptly discharge their duty to agriculture. At the same time, kolkhoz and sovkhoz leaders and working people of the State Committee for the Supply of Production Equipment for Agriculture often make poor use of internal reserves and take an unjustifiably long time to repair machinery.

Questions relating to cadre provision are particularly topical for farms in eastern parts. This year around 700,000 machine operators will be out in the fields. The task of local party organizations is to correctly deploy forces and make wider use of advanced technology and progressive forms and methods of labor organization enabling them to increase machine productivity and manage with fewer working people.

The eastern farmers' most crucial task at the moment is finish sowing in time and to do it well. That will be a practical contribution to strengthening the country's food base.

CPSU, GOVERNMENT RESOLUTION ON GROAT, PULSE CROPS

LD191247 Moscow IZVESTIVA in Russian 12 May 81 Morning Edition p 1

[Unattributed report: "At the CPSU Central Committee and USSR Council of Ministers"]

[Text] The CPSU Central Committee and USSR Council of Ministers have adopted a resolution "On Additional Measures To Stimulate Production and Purchases of Buckweat, Millet, Kidney Beans and Lentils."

The resolution notes that party, soviet, agricultural and procurement organs of a number of republics, krays and oblasts, the USSR Ministry of Agriculture and the USSR Ministry of Procurement failed to ensure the implementation of the CPSU Central Committee and USSR Council of Ministers resolution No 683 of 23 August 1976 "On Measures To Increase Production and Purchases of Buckwheat and Millet." Yields from these crops remain low. The 10th 5-Year Plan target for purchases of buckwheat and millet in the country as a whole was not fulfilled.

Only a small quantity of kidney beans and lentils is being produced in the country and is finding its way into state reserves.

The USSR Ministry of Procurement, the USSR Ministry of Agriculture and party and soviet organs of a number of oblasts and republics are failing to display proper exactingness toward farms as regards the fulfillment of plans for the sale of the aforementioned groat and pulse crops to the state. Much buckwheat and millet reaching grain reception enterprises is of poor quality.

As a result of this the population's needs for buckwheat, millet, kidney beans and lentils are not being satisfied.

For the purpose of increasing production and purchases of the grain of these crops, improving its quality and more fully satisfying the population's needs for groats the CPSU Central Committee and USSR Council of Ministers have made it incumbent upon the RSFSR Council of Ministers, the Ukrainian of Central Committee and Ukrainian SSR Council of Ministers, the Belorussian of Central Committee and Belorussian SSR Council of Ministers, the Kazakh CP Central Committee and Kazakh SSR Council of Ministers, the Georgian CP Central Committee and Georgian SSR Council of Ministers, the Moldavian CP Central Committee and Moldavian SSR Council of Ministers, the USSR Ministry of Agriculture, the USSR Ministry of Procurement, kraykoms, obkoms and raykoms, councils of ministers of autonomous republics, krayispolkoms, oblispolkoms and rayispolkoms to: Examine in each republic, kray, oblast and rayon and on each kolkhoz and sovkhoz the reasons for the shortfall in the production of buckwheat, millet, kidney beans and lentils and to elaborate and implement a package of measures to further increase yields and gross harvests of these crops and to ensure the fulfillment of plans for the sale of such crops to the state, paying particular attention to the introduction of progressive techniques for the cultivation of the aforementioned crops.

Ensure that in 1981 farms carry out the whole range of measures for the cultivation of buckwheat, millet and pulse crops within optimal agrotechnical schedules in order to ensure in turn that even in this year there will be a considerable increase in the production and improvement in the quality of these crops and that every kolkhoz and sovkhoz unconditionally fulfills the prescribed plans for the sale of such crops to the state;

Monitor more closely the fulfillment of plans for the sale of buckwheat, millet, kidney beans and lentils to the state by kolkhozes and sovkhozes and take steps to increase the proportion of the top grades of groat and pulse crops of the total volume of such crops purchased by the state.

For the purpose of stimulating production and purchases of buckwheat, millet, kidney beans and lentils, beginning with the 1981 harvest, countersales [vstrechnaya prodazha] of mixed feed or feed grains, at the rate of one quintal of mixed feed or feed grains per quintal of the grain of the aforementioned crops sold to the state, are being introduced.

In 1981-85 it is planned to make an additional payment to kolkhozes, sovkhozes and other agricultural enterprises and organizations amounting to 50 percent of the purchase price, for sales to the state of buckwheat, millet, kidney beans and lentils above the average level achieved in the 10th 5-Year Plan period, regardless of whether this level is exceeded for grain as a whole. Beginning with the 1981 harvest, purchase prices for white, colored and speckled kidney beans, mung beans and large lentils of R600 per ton of grain of basic quality have been fixed for kolkhozes, sovkhozes and other agricultural enterprises and organizations. When summing up socialist competition results it has been deemed advisable to regard state grain purchase plans as being fulfilled by a union or autonomous republic, kray, oblast, rayon or farm only if the plan for state purchases of buckwheat and millet is fulfilled and farms are fully supplied with seed for these crops (with due allowance for a reserve stock) for the purpose of spring sowing.

The Ministry of Tractor and Agricultural Machine Building has been instructed to ensure that in 1981-85 the requisite quantity of ZHRB-4.2 reapers for harvesting pulse crops is produced and to expedite the completion of development work on the PZHK-3.5 direct-flow reaper-mowers and arrange for them to go into production in 1982.

The USSR Ministry of Agriculture and the V.I. Lenin All-Union Academy of Agriculture and the V.I. Lenin All-Union Academy of Agricultural Sciences have been instructed to:

Ensure that in 1981-85 new, high-yield, quick-ripening and drought-resistant varieties of buckwheat, millet, kidney beans and lentils suitable for mechanized harvesting, resistant to pests and diseases and bearing high-quality grain are developed and also that progressive techniques are devised for cultivating these crops.

Take additional steps to radically improve the production of seed for buckwheat, millet, kidney bean and lentil growing and put it on an industrial footing and to expedite the propagation of new seed varieties in order to ensure that in the years immediately ahead these crops will be grown from high-quality seed of the finest zoned varieties.

Sovkhozes and other agricultural enterprises and organizations have been authorized, and kolkhozes have been advised, to conclude on a strictly voluntary basis with kolkhoz members, workers, clerical staff and other citizens residing within their territory and conscientiously participating in social production, as well as with pensioners, contracts for the cultivation and purchase of kidney beans. Payment for kidney beans purchased under such contracts is to be made at rates to be agreed, but not in excess of prescribed state purchase prices.

Kolkhoz members, workers, clerical staff and other citizens who have concluded contracts with farms for the cultivation and purchase of kidney beans are to be given additional plots of land in order to grow this crop, derived from land adjoining the facility [priusadebnyye zemli] and also, where necessary, on plots of land temporarily unused by farms. Plots of land allocated to citizens for the cultivation of kidney beans in accordance with the present resolution are to be exempted from agricultural tax. The USSR Ministry of Finance has been instructed to exempt from income tax any earnings which citizens make from the use of such plots. Kolkhozes, sovkhozes and other agricultural enterprises and organizations have been instructed to render all possible assistance to kolkhoz members, workers, clerical staff and other citizens in the cultivation of kidney beans on personal plots and additional plots allocated to them.

The USSR Ministry of Agriculture, the USSR Ministry of Procurement, the USSR Ministry of Finance and the USSR Central Statistical Administration have been instructed to draw up and confirm standard contracts for the cultivation and purchase of kidney beans specifying the obligation of kolkhozes, sovkhozes and other agricultural enterprises and organizations to help kolkhoz members, workers, clerical staff and other citizens concluding contracts with them to obtain kidney bean seed, mineral fertilizer and herbicides and to ensure that they are properly provided with the necessary equipment, transportation facilities and other services, and also the system and conditions of payment for the crop produced.

Kidney beans bought by kolkhozes, sovkhozes and other agricultural enterprises and organizations under contracts with kolkhoz members, workers, clerical staff and other citizens are to be sold to the state by those farms and to be counted toward their fulfillment of the state plan for the purchase of grain along with the payment of the prescribed additional payments for quantitative and qualitative indicators. Tsentrosoyuz has been instructed to take additional steps to increase purchase of kidney beans from the population.

Consumer cooperative organizations have been authorized to purchase kidney beans from kolkhoz members, sovkhoz workers, clerical staff and other citizens in 1981-85 at prices to be agreed, but not higher than the prices fixed for kidney beans sold by kolkhozes, sovkhozes and other agricultural enterprises and organizations to the state in excess of the average level achieved in the 10th 5-Year Plan period. Kidney beans purchased from the population by consumer cooperative organizations at the prices specified by the present resolution are to be sold by these organizations in accordance with the prescribed procedure.

The USSR Central Statistical Administration has been instructed to keep a separate record of the area sown to buckwheat and the yield and gross harvests of this crop and not to include these indicators in the average indicators recording the amount of grain in each oblast, kray, autonomous or union republic.

IZVESTIYA EDITORIAL ON CENTRAL-CHERNOZEM RESOLUTION

LD200813 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 8 May 81 Morning Edition p 1

[Editorial: "The Chernozem's Great Possibilities"]

[Text] In our country there is one region where nature has created good conditions for farming. This is Russia's Central-Chernozem Region. Five oblasts here sow almost 7 million hectares of spring crops. A good number of farms conduct intensive, profitable production. There are well built villages and roads, in a word, this is rich land. As the CPSU Central Committee and USSR Council of Ministers resolution "On the Further Development of the RSFSR Central-Chernozem Region's Agriculture," which has been published in the press, notes, the party, soviet and economic organs have in recent years done much work to strengthen the material-technical base, to develop chemicalization, land reclamation and the comprehensive mechanization of agricultural production and have achieved an increase in sales to the state of agricultural and livestock products.

The Russian Chernozem oblasts will have to play a significant role in implementing the food program and fulfilling the 26th CPSU Congress decisions made for the agroindustrial complex sectors. The kolkhozes and sovkhozes and their partners have opportunities and favorable natural-climatic conditions for this. This is why, for the further increase in the production of grain, sugar beet, sunflower, meat, milk and other products, the CPSU Central Committee and USSR Council of Ministers have set as one of the most important tasks for the USSR and RSFSR ministries and departments and for party, soviet and agricultural organs of the RSFSR Central Chernozem oblasts the accelerated development of the region's agriculture and its intensification in every possible way.

The efforts of kolkhoz, sovkhoz and other state agricultural enterprise leaders and experts and all the zone's agricultural workers must be concentrated on the fuller utilization of the existing opportunities for increasing the production of agricultural and livestock products.

In view of the region's great potential, the party and government are assigning to the RSFSR Council of Ministers and the Chernozem oblast local organs the implementation of measures to increase the efficiency of agriculture. It remains to develop and introduce a comprehensive program for increasing the fields' fertility. The foundation of this must be a scientifically based zonal agricultural system. Much remains to be done in combating erosion by wind and water. Not enough attention has been paid to this work. The 11th 5-Year Plan will be marked by the widespread introduction of industrial technologies which will enable a guaranteed harvest to be obtained without expending manual labor. It is necessary for Chernozem farms to switch basically to such technologies in the cultivation of corn for grain, sunflowers and sugar beet.

Considerable material and technical provision is made for the region by the CPSU Central Committee and USSR Council of Ministers resolution. For the 5-year period R7,065,000,000 in capital investment has been allocated to the development of the sector for the entire complex of work.

It is envisaged that R460 million will be allocated to the reclamation and agricultural assimilation of land in the RSFSR Central-Chernozem Region. Some 130,000 hectares of irrigated land will be commissioned. Work on modernization, restoration, reconstruction and increasing water supplies to irrigation systems will be performed. The supply to farms of new equipment and fertilizers will increase.

Great importance will be attached to questions of reclamation. The appropriate departments are instructed to implement in the 11th 5-Year Plan search and prospecting work for underground water to irrigate agricultural lands, and to draw up and ratify in the years 1982-84 schemes for the development of land reclamation and agricultural and agricultural water supply for each oblast of the zone for the longer term up to the year 2000. In this case, beginning from 1981 the system for financing expense on the cultivation of reclaimed land from state budget resources established by the CPSU Central Committee and USSR Council of Ministers resolution for the RSFSR Non-Chernozem Zone farms is being extended to the kolkhozes, sovkhozes and other state agricultural enterprises in the RSFSR Central-Chernozem Region.

It is very important to achieve increased production of livestock products in the Chernozem. One reserve here is the introduction of intensive methods of rearing and fattening livestock and poultry. The creation of the necessary quantity of specialized farms and interfarm enterprises for rearing and fattening cattle and for strengthening their material and technical base has been provided for. It is estimated that by 1985 all young animals will be reared on these farms by the intensive method on an industrial base.

In the resolution specific assignments are given to ministries and departments for improving the utilization and preservation of equipment and mineral fertilizers, constructive storehouses, silos, cured hay facilities and hothouse combines and modernizing and technically reequipping meat and daily industry enterprises, and for bringing into commission new elevators, enterprises of the flour-milling, mixed feed and food industries and fruit and vegetable farms.

All the party and government resolutions on agricultural questions are invariably imbued with concern for people. This is why the implementation of a range of measures for the radical improvement of socioeconomic conditions in Chernozem village life and the staffing of farms with highly qualified cadres has been outlined. By the end of the 11th 5-Year Plan much housing and many schools, kindergartens and nurseries, clubs and rayon culture centers will be constructed. Consumer services to the population will be developed further, the gas supply to rural rayons will be increased and the telephone exchange network will be extended. So then, a large, comprehensive program for the further development of Russia's Chernozem area agriculture has been adopted. The party and government are sure that the ministries and departments and local organs will ensure the accelerated growth of agricultural and stockraising production and will make a worthy contribution to the implementation of the food program.

COSMOS-1271 ARTIFICIAL SATELLITE LAUNCHED 19 MAY

LD191146 Moscow TASS in English 1132 GMT 19 May 81

[Text] Moscow, 19 May, TASS--Another artificial satellite of the earth in the Cosmos series, the Cosmos-1271, has been launched in the Soviet Union today.

The satellite carries scientific apparatus designed to carry on the exploration of outer space.

The satellite was put into an orbit with the following parameters:

Initial orbital period-97.5 minutes;

The maximum distance from the earth's surface (in apogee)--670 km;

The minimum distance from the earth's surface (in perigee)--628 km;

Orbital inclination--81.2 degrees.

Apart from scientific apparatus the satellite carries a radiosystem for precision measurements or orbital elements; a radiotelemetry system to transmit back to Earth the data on the operation of instruments and scientific apparatus.

The onboard apparatus is functioning normally. The coordination computing center is processing the incoming information.

REPORT ON JOINT EXPERIMENTS IN SPACE COMPLEX

LD191202 Moscow TASS in English 1113 GMT 19 May 81

[Text] Moscow, 19 May, TASS--A report from the Mission Control Centre:

The international space crew consisting of Vladimir Kovalyonok, Viktor Savinykh, Leonid Popov and Dumitru Prunariu is working for the fourth day aboard the orbital complex Salyut-6--Soyuz T-4-Soyuz-40.

In keeping with the programme of space materials study the crew is carrying out a joint experiment "Kapillyar" using the "Kristall" installation. The experiment was prepared jointly by Soviet and Romanian specialists. Its purpose is to study the possibility of growing mono-crystals of a given profile in conditions of microgravitation on the basis of the effect of capillarity.

During the day Leonid Popov and Dumitru Prunariu are carrying out planned operations in the framework of the experiments "Nanovesy" and "Astro-2" and record their joint activities of film. In accordance with the plan of medical research, the cosmonauts made one one more series of tests of the cardiovascular system, and the sharpness and depth of vision.

Vladimir Kovalyonok and Viktor Savinykh today carry technical experiments. In the framework of one of them they measure the dynamic characteristics of the orbital complex and its structural loading. Under the second experiment they practice methods of increasing accuracy of spacecraft orientation.

Experiments continue on the biological objects delivered to the Salyut-6 station by the visiting crew. Among other things the cosmonauts study the peculiarities of mutation processes in plants under the influence of space flights.

According to telemetric information and crew report the flight of the space research complex proceeds normally. The state of health of the Cosmonauts Kovalyonok, Savinykh, Popov and Prunariu is good. They feel well.